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The EuroMaidan in Ukraine November 2013 till February 2014

Guest Editors

Carmen Scheide, Ulrich Schmid (St.Gallen)



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The EuroMaidan in Ukraine November 2013 till February 2014

The events in Ukraine have unfolded very rapidly over the past few months. Initially, it looked as if President Yanukovich could sit out the crisis. However, after new laws against the Maidan activists were passed on January 16th, 2014, a further radicalization and politicization took place, which led to the dramatic clashes between the government and demonstrators on the Maidan between February 18th and 20th, 2014. The situation fundamentally changed with the unexpected increase in violence and brutality on the EuroMaidan. The tragic loss of human life made it immediately clear that Yanukovich not only was fully discredited as head of state, but also that he was not capable of guaranteeing peace and order in the Ukrainian capital.

Yanukovich's escape from Kiev provided an occasion for Moscow to brazenly intervene into Ukrainian politics. With great media attention, Putin had the highly compliant Federation Council authorize him to deploy the army outside the territory of the Russian Federation. Since then the Kremlin has been following a blunt legalistic line of argument: Yanukovich was democratically elected by the people in 2010. An impeachment procedure, as provided for in Article 111 of the Ukrainian Constitution, did not take place. The EuroMaidan demonstrators are collectively defamed as fascists and Moscow speaks of a "brown revolution" against the legitimate government. One of the most important problems is the future of Crimea. Already after the collapse of the Soviet Union, Crimea wanted to separate from Ukraine. The status quo – Crimea is an autonomous republic in the unitary nation of Ukraine – seems to be no longer acceptable for many ethnic Russians on the Crimean Peninsula.

Another complicating factor is Russia's imperial claim to this part of the country, which only was incorporated into Ukraine in 1954. The mood is very tense due to the steadfast agitations and provocations of the Putin government. The western media have painted a rather one-sided picture of the events in Ukraine: here the evil dictator, there the protesting civil society. However, two things are being crossed here: first, Yanukovich could have brutally dispersed the EuroMaidan, as there were indeed such plans. He did not do this. There are also significant doubts whether he ordered the use of snipers. Second, the right-wing block was given intense media attention, which did not correspond at all with its share of voters. Most house occupations and street battles were carried out by right-wing radicals. It will be difficult for the interim government to impose democratically defined constraints on their claims to power.

One positive result of the EuroMaidan is surely the political involvement of broad segments of society. Unlike in Russia, where the protests of 2011 and 2012 tapered off, there is an increased sensitivity to political decision-making processes in Ukraine today. The media landscape has also become more diverse as a result of the events. Above all, online media have significantly grown: the reach of the internet newspaper "Ukrainska Pravda" promptly increased with the protests, while independent internet television stations such as *espreso.tv* or *hromadske.tv* now also have a large regular viewership.

Unlike many Russians, who are indifferent towards politics, many Ukrainians are now highly involved in the affairs of their Republic and their collective struggle.

The present issue of Euxeinos was planned for December 2013, while the mass protests in Ukraine continued, but no solution had emerged yet. Instead, the events have taken a tragic turn. Up to now, there have been 98 fatalities, a change in government, and new elections will take place on May 25th. Simultaneously, the country faces diverse challenges as well as political and economic reforms.

Therefore, several texts in this issue have been partially “outrun” by the current events. Nevertheless, they convey interesting internal insights and analyses and can also be seen as a chronicle of the events in the present form.

Since 2011, the Center for Governance and Culture in Europe of the University of St. Gallen has been linked to a project on Ukraine, which analyzes interdependencies between regions, nations and cultures and assumes that Ukraine is not only divided in two, rather that different regional characteristics overlap each other and that they are constitutive for self-identity processes (<http://regionandculture.krytyka.com/>)

Among the project members was the sociologist Bohdan Solchanyk.

He was killed by a shot to the head on the Maidan on 20 February 2014.

He was 28 years old.

On behalf of all project members, this edition is dedicated to his memory.

Carmen Scheide, Ulrich Schmid

Maidan 2013 in Kiev: Revolution in People's Heads

by Kyryl Savin, Kiev

30 December 2013

The banner of a young woman protesting on Independence Square in Kiev said "Maidan¹ is the best thing that could happen to my country". The Maidan has indeed become an island of freedom in the Ukrainian capital, where thousands of free-thinkers gather and where every Sunday at noon several hundred thousand people meet to demonstrate their desire for fundamental changes in Ukraine. Although the people's will to live in a European, democratic and free country is strong, all legal means of pressure on the government and President Yanukovich have already been exhausted and the protests have reached a deep political dead-end. This is what explains the



Kiev November 2013 © Carmen Scheide

profoundness of the political crisis in Ukraine.

The whole story began on November 21st, 2013 when it was announced that the phase of EU integration of Ukraine would be put on hold. This decision by the President meant that

the association agreement with the EU was not signed at the Vilnius Summit and that the dream of many, in particular young Ukrainians, to live one day in a European country had been taken away. Therefore, hundreds of civil society actors (as well as journalists, students, etc.) gathered on the evening of November 21st on Maidan Square and organized a small stage, which functioned as the focal point of the protests 24 hours a day. The stage and the logistics associated with it were funded by donations which were collected in large numbers on the square. On November 24th, the first large-scale demonstration occurred in Kiev. Attended by approx. 150,000 people, the motto of the event was "The association agreement with the EU must be signed in Vilnius".

Oppositional politicians set up their stage on the neighboring square (the Europe Square, located approx. 300 meters from Independence Square) on November 24th. Until November 27th there were two stages – one on Maidan Square where students and civil society activists gathered and one on Europe Square, which primarily served as a focal point for party supporters. However, more and more people came to the stage on Maidan Square, which is why the oppositional politicians gave up their stage. This resulted in strong frictions between oppositional politicians and civil society activists on the Maidan, which became increasingly visible.

In the night between November 29th and 30th, Independence Square was cleared by the police with brutal force – allegedly so that the Kiev municipal services could put up a large Christmas tree. These evacuation measures

¹ Independence Square (in Ukrainian – Maidan Nezalezhnosti, often called just Maidan) is the largest square in the center of Kiev.

were absolutely irrational, as the “small student Maidan” was already more or less over after Yanukovych did not sign anything in Vilnius. According to unofficial information, Yanukovych returned from Vilnius in a very bad mood, because several EU heads of state reportedly demeaned him. Yanukovych is said to be very sensitive. Perhaps he took action against the demonstrators on the evening of November 29th to vent his aggression after the events in Vilnius. According to the journalists Sergii Leshchenko and Mustafa Nayyem² he gave the command to completely evacuate the Maidan, that is to take action against the remaining people there.

On November 30th many citizens of Kiev showed their unrestrained solidarity with the students who had been beaten on the Maidan the night before. Approximately 700,000 outraged citizens attended the large demonstration on Sunday, December 1st. Its motto was: “Do not beat our children!” Protesters occupied the city hall and union headquarters. Three oppositional parties assumed the leadership role and organization of the logistic measures for the demonstration: UDAR, Batkivshchyna and Svoboda). Over 10,000 protesters coopered up in tents and occupied houses. Material and monetary donations helped to set up a kitchen, in which hundreds of volunteers worked to serve more than approx. 400,000 portions of food daily. Calls for donations were posted on numerous Facebook pages, while donation boxes were set up in several places on the Maidan.

On Sunday, December 8th another large-scale demonstration with approx. 400,000 protesters took place on the Maidan based on the motto “Presidential and parliamentary

elections must be held!”³ By then, their aims had changed though. It was no longer about the European integration of Ukraine, rather domestic policy demands: the protesters demanded that those responsible for the evacuation measures on November 30th, 2013 should be named and brought to justice. Furthermore, they called for presidential and parliamentary elections to be re-held. During the night between December 10th and 11th, Yanukovych again attempted to clear up the Maidan by force of the police and to free the occupied administrative buildings. However, he failed in doing so due to the unprecedented resistance of the protesters. On December 15th, December 27th, and after the act of revenge against the journalist and activist Tetyana Chernovol on December 29th large-scale demonstrations again took place in Kiev for which hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians gathered.

Citizens from nearly all social strata took part in the protests in Kiev and other large Ukrainian cities (several thousand people even took to the streets in Donetsk and Lugansk). Yet the middle class doubtlessly constituted the main driver of the “revolution in people’s heads”. In Kiev thousands of representatives of the so-called “new creative middle class” joined the activities. They included artists, NGO activists, business people from small and mid-sized firm, students, journalists, etc. and provided inspiration for many creative slogans and activities on the Maidan. They consisted mainly of well-educated people, who had been abroad (in EU-countries) and now were able and willing to assume responsibility and no longer can bear living in

² <http://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2013/12/8/7005339/>

³ There are very different estimations of the numbers of participants. The author of this article uses average figures based on estimations in local articles and reports.

contemporary Ukraine without a prospect of EU membership for their children. “We want the walls that separate us from the modern world to fall down”, stated the former political prisoner and Maidan activist Yuri Luzenko recently.

The wish of the Ukrainians to move closer to the EU was only one motive for the protests (surveys in October-November 2013 showed that over 60% of all Ukrainians were in favor of an association with the EU). For several months, Yanukovych and his government carried out an information and propaganda campaign for a closer association with the EU in Ukraine. A week before the Vilnius Summit in November 2013 a 180-degree reversal took place, which even some of the parliamentary deputies from the Party of Regions (Ukr. *Partiya Regioniv*) could not comprehend. However, after the protests on November 30th it was no longer about the EU, rather about changes to the system within Ukraine itself.

Fundamental democratic transformations in Ukraine are long overdue – essentially since 1991. After gaining independence no fundamental transformation and de-Sovietization processes took place, which could have assured the long-term democratic development of the country. Instead, the elite at that time quickly turned into “democrats” and continued to control the government of Ukraine. The oligarchs are the (financial) backbone of all Ukrainian presidents. The Ukrainian political elite (both the governmental as well as the oppositional camp) imitates democratic processes (including elections) and has succeeded in creating a credible democratic façade towards the West. Yet Ukrainian democracy today remains just a façade.

An increasing number of citizens of Ukraine have come to understand that they do not need a fake or imitated democracy, rather

an authentic democracy, the rule of law, and a market economy. The events on the Maidan 2013 showed that there is a broader wish among the Ukrainian people for fundamental changes to the political system – and not just for the replacement of political actors. Thus, the protests of November 2013 indeed constitute a “revolution in people’s heads”. Memories of the Orange Revolution of 2004 play an important role in this process, as many Ukrainians had a positive experience with mass protests for the first time nine years ago. Now it has become clear to many protesters that the mistake made in 2004 was that the protest activities overly focused on Yushchenko as a person and not on changes to the system. The Ukrainians learned from their own negative experience that civil society must monitor both opposition politicians as well as governing politicians.

When the Maidan protesters expressed their demands for a closer association and integration with the EU, their movement received great support in all parts of the country. However, when they began calling for the overdue fundamental democratic transformation of the country and new elections after November 30th, divisions in the public opinion in Ukraine immediately became apparent. South-eastern regions quickly remembered their “us and them” instincts (*Unserer-Fremder*) and tacitly threw their support at the relatively unpopular President Yanukovych and his chief of staff Asarov, who were at least “two of their own.”

The “Russian brothers” from the Kremlin are also happy to feed fuel to the Ukrainian fire time and time again. The Euro-Maidan 2013 indeed sheds light on two important dimensions: in addition to the above described domestic political dimension, there is also an important foreign policy – or more precisely

– geopolitical dimension. In 2013 Ukraine became the battlefield in the cold war between the West and Russia and (thanks to his clever tactics) Putin can celebrate yet another geopolitical victory after previous successes in Georgia, Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan and Kirgizstan. Yanukovych weighed both offers (from Russia and the EU) and decided that dependence on Russia is a lesser evil. After all, he is primarily concerned with maintaining power and his victory in the presidential elections of 2015. The price that Yanukovych would have to pay for this played almost no role at all.

The Euro-Maidan 2013 will most likely remain without any visible political success: as a democratically elected president, Yanukovych is clearly trying to buy time and is consistently ignoring all demands of the protesters. He also by no means wishes to make any obvious staffing changes to his cabinet under pressure from the protests. Like the seemingly unsuccessful 2000-2001 protest movement “Ukraine without Kuchma”, the Euro-Maidan 2013 will however impact further domestic political developments in Ukraine in the long-term. After all, a revolution in people’s heads is taking place to the extent that they now know what they want, are no longer fearful, and by and large have almost nothing more to lose.

It is paradoxical: the 2004 Maidan and the successful Orange Revolution (Yushchenko became the President of Ukraine) will probably be of lesser importance to the history of Ukraine than the currently unsuccessful Euro-Maidan 2013, because an active Ukrainian civil society has emerged during these cold November and December days on Kiev’s Maidan Square. The next heightening of domestic and geopolitical tensions in Ukraine is already programmed – the presidential elections in spring 2015. Until then, the Ukrainian civil society, opposition as well as the EU will have to de-

velop clear strategies. After all, Yanukovych cannot afford to lose the 2015 election, as he and his political companions will lose everything and likely have to go to prison if he is defeated and has to turn over power.

translated by Michael Dobbins

About the Author:

Dr. Kyryl Savin, born in 1976. Studies in international relations at the State Taras-Shevchenko University of Kiev (Ukraine). 1998 – Master in international economic relations at the State Taras-Shevchenko University of Kiev. 2000 – PhD at the State Taras-Shevchenko University of Kiev (Ukraine) on the topic “Marketing Management in Banks of EU Countries (case study Federal Republic of Germany)”. 1997-2000 – several study and research visits at the Merseburg Applied Sciences University and the University of Münster. June 2000-August 2001 – German Economic Advisory Group for the Ukrainian government / Institute for Economic Research and Political Consulting in Kiev. September 2001-February 2002 – International Parliamentary Internship in the German Bundestag January 2003-September 2007 – German Embassy in Kiev, political consultant Since October 2007 – Director of Office of Heinrich Böll Foundation in Ukraine. Publications: Numerous publications on the current political situation in Ukraine in the web dossier “Ukraine on the path to democracy” at <http://www.boell.de/ukraine>

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e-mail: kyryl.savin@ua.boell.org

EuroMaidan: Context and Meanings

by Andriy Portnov, Berlin

10 January 2014

Current events in Ukraine, which have already received the metaphorical tag of “Eurorevolution”, have caught everyone off guard: the Ukrainian authorities, the opposition, the European Union, the Russian Federation. This multifarious and dynamic situation surprised many observers with a realization that a sizeable part of the country’s population is formulating a demand for a new (“European”) political and social lifestyle. In the given text I try to reconstruct the chronology of some main events and propose their contextual interpretation.

The very first part of the protest took place during the night of Thursday 21 November 2013 on the Independence Square (known as the Maidan) in Kyiv. It took shape as a reaction against the refusal of the authorities to sign the Ukraine-EU Association Agreement at the Vilnius Summit of the Eastern Partnership. On Saturday 23 November, for the first time since the Orange Revolution, Kyiv saw a large gathering of up to 100 000 demonstrators under the slogan of European integration. I would say that a significant part (if not the outright majority) of those protesting in the capital that day were reacting not to the government’s declaration of putting the negotiations with the European Union on hold per se, but rather to **the style and form of the way it was announced***. Citizens were informed about this decision post-factum, without any sort of open discussion, even though on the previous day the authorities assured everyone that the Association agreement will certainly be signed in Vilnius.

Those who congregated on the Maidan that night were not political activists, and they

had no political leaders. Rather, it was a spontaneous assembly of indignant social network users, which gathered a few hundred people at most. Initially, thousands of participants of Saturday meetings, as well as of similar EuroMaidan gatherings across Ukraine, emphasized that their demand is the signing of the EU association agreement, and that **they are not aligned with any political power whatsoever**.

It would seem that the demonstration’s depoliticization might have launched its inevitable marginalization. But at 4 a.m. on Saturday 30 November, something appalling took place on the Maidan. Under the pretence of having to prepare the square for the traditional New Year’s tree, special police force “Berkut” brutally attacked the students who were camping there. Outraged by this development, hundreds of thousands of people poured into the streets of Kyiv on Saturday. Thus, the protest turned **not only political, but also plainly anti-governmental**: idealistic calls for Euro-integration were accompanied now with demands for resignation of both the President and the Prime Minister.

The leaders of the three oppositional parliamentary factions (Arseniy Yatseniuk from Yulia Tymoshenko’s “Bat’kivschyna”, Vitaliy Klychko from “Udar”, and Oleh Tiahnybok from far-right “Svoboda”), now officially heading this protest, were totally unprepared for its scope. They were also not prepared to deal with provocations that aimed to portray scenes of violence and frighten observers, particularly external ones. The epicentre of such provocations was the storming of the Presidential Administration using a building

* *author’s emphasis*

excavator, the subsequent beating by police of all who were nearby, and the arrest of about ten random passers-by on the charge of public incitement to violence. In practice, this led to unprecedented mass protests in Kyiv. Demonstrators occupied several municipal buildings (including the City Council headquarters) and returned to the Maidan. This time, they brought tents, barricades, and a stage.

On Tuesday 3 December the Verkhovna Rada did not gather enough votes to force the government's resignation. Neither the authorities nor the opposition, it seems, took note of advice offered by Victoria Nuland (the Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs at the U.S. Department of State) and Catherine Ashton (High Representative of the EU for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy). They called for a proper roundtable and for formation of a coalition government, which could **assume a full responsibility for the unavoidably painful economic reforms**. During the visit of these VIP guests, on the night from Tuesday to Wednesday 10 December, police forces in Kyiv attempted to dislodge the demonstrators, and dismantled some of their barricades. This was streamed live online. Within a few hours, thousands of Kyiv residents gathered on the Maidan. By dawn, the police backed off. The Maidan was elated. And the protest, now fully and irreversibly, **surpassed the reaction to Euro-integration hindrances, and turned into opposition to the current political regime**. The government, meanwhile, approached all calls for political roundtables not as a potential way out of this crisis, but rather as a decorative arrangement for the West (even though on 13 December both President Victor Yanukovych and the leaders of the opposition participated in one such roundtable).

To sum up, in the words of Evgeniy

Kiselev, over the past month the authorities "made obviously wrong decisions with enviable consistency, and every such decision lifted the task of solving the crisis onto a new level of difficulty" [1]. Meanwhile, the end of December made clear that the **Maidan is a problem for the opposition as well as for the government**. The former, the opposition, keeps trying to tame the Maidan, which undoubtedly surpasses the level and scope of its political outlook. And the latter, the government, attempted to counter the Maidan with a big concert in support of the acting president on Saturday 14 December. At this event, Prime Minister Nikolai Azarov spooked the audience with declarations that the EU demands of Ukraine include legalization of same-sex marriage.

By arranging this Anti-Maidan, the authorities wanted to show that the crisis is not about people opposing the government; it's about one part of Ukraine opposing another part. Manipulations with this faulty notion was made simpler by the fact that **existent distrust of the government in the East and South of the country does not find a reflection in these regions' electoral preferences**. This is due to the fact these regions, in general, do not view the country's "national-democratic" political factions as capable of representing them, and the ruling Party of Regions can exploit votes to stop "the nationalists" from coming to power [2]. Indeed, in Ukraine, there is currently no democratic force committed to working consistently with the primarily Rus-sophone electorate in the East and South of the country.

But in no way does this situation mean that, on socio-cultural and political levels, geographically defined "two Ukraines" actually exist, one of which allegedly dreams of nothing but a "reunion" with Russia, while

the other is busy only with merging its pro-European notions with a cult of a nationalist hero Stepan Bandera. Regularly replayed in both English- and Russian-language publications around the world, the defective theory about the non-existence of Ukraine as a cultural entity – complete with prompts for a “peaceful divorce” of its two parts [3] – mistakenly describes contemporary Ukraine as an analogue of Czechoslovakia, where the Slovak part can split, in a “velvet” manner, from the Czech part. In reality, the curious phenomenon of existing diverse interpretations and definitions of “Ukrainian-ness” in the context of post-Soviet political realities – as well as co-existence and competitiveness of these different understandings – supports Rory Finnin’s important observation that “the thesis of Ukraine’s ‘weak’ national identity is not only conceptually vague but analytically useless” [4]. It is evidence of the potential of a search for new concepts and new terminology that could describe Ukraine’s social reality.

On Sunday 15 December, in advance of the million-strong people’s gathering against Ukraine’s joining the Customs Union of Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Russia, many worried that “a clash of the two Ukraines” will be staged there. But the publicized meeting of the Party of Regions was cancelled. As for the gathering in support of the authorities, it was declared “indefinite”, and after a few days those camping near the Verkhovna Rada were sent home. Most observers agreed that the government adopted **the tactic of ignoring the Maidan in hopes for its self-marginalization.**

On Tuesday 17 December, President Yanukovich left for a business trip to Moscow. As a result of his visit, Ukraine was promised a credit of 15 billion dollars, as well as a lowering of the cost of gas from around 400 to 268.5 dollars per thousand cubic meters. President

Putin announced that this help for his “fraternal” country came “without any kind of conditions”. Kyiv’s courtier journalist commented: “Who prevented the central banking institution of the European Union – European Bank for Reconstruction and Development – from purchasing Ukrainian bonds, say, for 15 billion euro? They’ve got no money for Ukraine? Too bad. Turns out Russia does have money for Ukraine” [5]. But soon it became clear that Moscow’s gifts were far from altruistic. They are not without an expiration date (for instance, the gas discount will be reviewed every quarter) and they are directly linked to Ukraine’s “proper” behaviour [6]. No official admission into the Customs Union was mentioned, which allowed less far-sighted observers to overlook the Kremlin’s bid for a **new model of integration, consisting of owning and controlling strategic areas of Ukraine’s economy.** (The new framework will be built on interlocking, inter-sectorial integration – in other words, on Russia’s co-ownership and co-management of the key sectors of Ukraine’s economy. [7]).

Russian money gave President Yanukovich some time to stitch up the most apparent holes in Ukraine’s budget. But it did not solve the structural problems of the country’s economy – direct results of multiple errors by the current and previous governments. It’s worth noting that Ukraine stood on the verge of bankruptcy not due to the threat of signing the EU agreement, but due to the government’s extensive leaning on the economy, as well as an unfavourable business climate, widespread corruption, and irresponsible populism of the ruling elites [8].

This short-term ability to save the status-quo through capitulating (an important ingredient of which, it seems, will be Ukraine’s loss of control over the gas transport system)

was positioned by Azarov's government as a big economic success. President Putin looked far more convincing in his role as a winner, having acquired another trophy following Snowden and Syria. But the biggest illusion of Kremlin seems to be a deep believe that, in general terms, Ukrainians and Russians are "one people" [9]. This stereotype automatically blocks official Moscow's ability to adequately access both the Maidan events and the social disposition in Ukraine in general.

At the same time, the diplomats of most countries of the European Union (it is difficult to speak about a thoughtful and coordinated EU foreign policy) either truly do not understand, or not want to understand, the Kremlin's reasoning as far as the Ukrainian question is concerned. The European negotiators did not quite comprehend President Yanukovich's position when they kept talking to him about freeing Yulia Tymoshenko¹, instead of addressing his expected topics of financial assistance and guarantees of re-election in 2015. Neither did they grasp the depth of the Kremlin's interest in disrupting Ukraine's signing of the EU association agreement. As James Sherr astutely notes, for Brussels the Association agreement was an alternative for Ukraine's EU membership, but for Moscow it was the EU enlargement by other means [10].

During the traditional crowded Sunday Maidan gathering on 22 December 2013, the leaders of opposition took the stage and announced the creation of an NGO called "People's Union Maidan". This amorphous body, brought forth without any open discussion, quickly raised questions and suspicions. First of all, it was presumed that the opposition is trying to look busy despite its lack of strategy or decisiveness. The opposition was

also suspected of trying to head something it did not actually create, and which surpasses it intellectually. As Yuriy Ruban accurately commented, the Maidan is looking for answers to a problem which will not be solved by any of the opposition leaders' victory in presidential elections [11]. In other words, the **Maidan is trying to formulate the need for a programme of reforms, which not does exist**, as well as the need for a new socio-political force, which also does not exist yet.

So what exactly is the Maidan? How can we explain the phenomenon of its self-organization? Which historical metaphors can describe its nature? Possibly the most popular, though far from incontestable, is the metaphor of the Zaporizhian Sich. It refers to the early modern political phenomenon of Cossack self-government, ended by Russia's absolutism at the end of the 18th century [12]. While most visitors live in tents set up in the centre of Kyiv, the crowded weekly Sunday gatherings are comprised of educated, enterprising and well-off middle-aged people who weave their hopes for change into a loosely-defined notion of Europeanization (I will return to this topic shortly). The Maidan, then, can be described as **a temporary space of non-conflicting cooperation and coexistence of people from very different social circles**. I think most of these individuals are united by their denunciation not only of the ruling authorities, but also of Ukraine's post-Soviet political and economic situation in general. Any positive aspects of this alliance are vaguer and less rationalized: they merges elements of nationalism with the mythology of Europe.

As far as nationalism is concerned, the Maidan has already legitimized nationalist slogans (such as "Glory to Ukraine – Glory to the Heroes!" [Slava Ukraini – Herojam slava!]) and flags (such as the black-and-red flag

¹ Yulia Tymoshenko was released 22 February, 2014

of the nationalist underground of World War II) as symbols of a pro-European protest [13]. The black-and-red flag was raised in place of the monument to Lenin, which was destroyed in the evening of December 8 near the Besarabsky Market. The far-right party "Svoboda" proudly claimed responsibility for this; at the same time, it curbed its usual anti-immigrant and homophobic rhetoric. As for "Glory to Ukraine!", I think we can discuss not only its legitimization, but also the transformation of meaning it underwent on the Maidan. This can be illustrated by the speech given on the Maidan by the leader of the Polish conservative party "Law and Justice" Jaroslaw Kaczynski, which ended with "Glory to Ukraine!", leading to a number of discussions in Polish right periodicals. While one writer saw it as the Polish politician's "resurrection of Galician fascism", historian and essayist Andrzej Nowak wrote that at this time, "Glory to Ukraine!" has become analogous to the slogan "Long live to Poland!" (Niech żyje Polska!) which has a broad patriotic sense [14].

As for Maidan's pro-European rhetoric, it is based on the **mythology of Europe as a space of the rule of law, social justice, freedom of movement and expression**, which was widespread in countries of the former Warsaw Pact and the Baltic nations prior to their joining the EU. This mythology of Europe far surpasses not only the content of the failed association agreement, but also the actual condition of the European Union. It does not correspond to the realities of today's Europe. But I would suggest that it is equally important to discuss the authenticity of such ideas themselves, as well as their ability to mobilize the most active portion of the population. Considering the European Union's lack of keenness for further enlargement into the post-Soviet area, we have the problem of "Europe beyond Europe" as a

new challenge for international politics. In this context, **Ukraine's ability to avoid mass violence while solving political conflicts is absolutely vital**. The country's post-Soviet history saw no parliamentary executions, no use of firearms against demonstrators, no pogroms. Both the society and the political elites so far have shown their resistance to violent scenarios, leaning towards finding peaceful solutions to all crises.

During the night of the Catholic Christmas, journalist Tetiana Chornovol was assaulted in the vicinity of Kyiv. Once again, Ukraine was pushed to escalate the conflict. It was shoved towards the use of force, leading to further isolation of the current government from the West. This mosaic, made up of slightly disoriented but still confident authorities, weak opposition, a self-assured Kremlin, a newborn civil society that has no adequate parliamentary representation, and an eternally confused and tardy European Union, can develop in most (un)expected ways. Only one thing is clear: Ukraine's economic and political crisis is not solved. And the story continues...

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About the Author:

Dr. Andriy Portnov is a historian and essayist from Dnipropetrovsk and Kyiv, currently Research Fellow at Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin and Guest Professor at the Humboldt University in Berlin, founder and co-editor of the intellectual web-site Historians.in.ua The author of five books and numerous articles on intellectual history, historiography and current memory debates in Eastern and Central Europe.

e-mail: aportnov2001@gmail.com

blog of Andriy Portnov <http://urokiistorii.ru/blog/308>

EuroMaidan in Dnipropetrovsk: Problems and Peculiarities

by Victoria Narizhna

22 January 2014

Dnipropetrovsk is not Ukraine's first city, but neither is a second. This old-time joke is often applied to describe various Ukrainian cities, as it was indeed in relation to many a Soviet city in the past. Dnipropetrovsk, however, may be in the position to assert its primacy as the subject of the joke, since in its particular case there is more than a fair share of truth in it. Back in Soviet times the city was hailed as the "forge of cadres" which remains relatively true to this day: like in the past it produced elite party cadres for the Soviet Union, today's Dnipropetrovsk has given to the independent Ukraine many of its oligarchs and well-known politicians. The "fame" remains, despite the fact that members of Ukraine's current political leadership come from the "Donetsk clan" and Dnipropetrovsk's most famous daughter Yulia Tymoshenko - not extremely popular at home anyway - is in jail.

A joke or not - it looks like Dnipropetrovsk residents have seriously accepted this as their identity background. To a large extent, the specificity of protest movement in the city can be explained by its self-identified "otherness" and "differentness". A common argument holds it that a low protest participation rate in Dnipropetrovsk is determined by the region's pro-Russian sentiment and its support for incumbent authorities. It is, in my mind, a simplistic explanation.

Dnipropetrovsk's inherent tendency is to keep a distanced position in any social and political processes. This is a feature typical of all local community - from rank-and-file citizens to power structures. In a month of recent protests in Dnipropetrovsk, the city has not seen a single clash between the protesters and the police, which demon-

strated a commendably tolerant approach.

The only violent conflict was an attack on the "tent camp" - a somewhat strong description of the two tents in European Square - carried out not by the riot-police as in Kiev but by the so-called "titushkas", groups of young sporty men who are hired to do dirty jobs for pay. Even this episode, however, stirred a wave of indignation among Dnipropetrovsk residents who saw it as the violation of a tacit agreement between the authorities and the city community (most city inhabitants believe that the attack was ordered by certain local bureaucrats to showcase their loyalty to central authorities). Moreover, the incident was even seen as violating the tradition of the city's disengagement, an attack on its common sense that has always underpinned local authorities' waiting position allowing them to prepare possible ways of retreat and demonstrate a measure of readiness for joining a winning party.

Rumours that started to circulate shortly after the attack confirm the city population's specific penchant for maintaining the harmony. The legend has it that the "titushkas" attack was organised by a high-rank official at Dnipropetrovsk city council. After the incident the official was reportedly promptly summoned for an unpleasant discussion at the security service (SBU), chided for crossing the limits and advised to remedy the situation as soon as possible. They say that now the same official is responsible for providing financial help to Dnipropetrovsk's EuroMaidan.

Regardless of how much truth or tale there is in this story, it is a good example of Dnipropetrovsk's specificity as seen by its own residents: the authorities here do not like to quarrel

with the citizens and avoid coercive measures.

This idea can be supported by other examples of how Dnipropetrovsk's government plans of suppressing EuroMaidan were thwarted in the city. Thus, a court decision banning assemblies in some of the city's public places from November 26 to December 31 2013 (a motion passed by courts in the entire Ukraine) was cancelled by the Court of Appeals on December 19, after the city council withdrew its claim. In their fight against the protesters, Dnipropetrovsk authorities tend to use more nuanced methods: for example, by organising a permanent fair in European Square, the centre of the city's EuroMaidan. Even those, however, give an impression of a nominal, half-felt way of demonstrating their loyalty to Kiev. Protesters have free access to European Square, while sellers at the fair (read: street vendors sent here from elsewhere in the city) are always on the standby to pack up their wares and give way to a few thousands of protesters.

The authorities' talent and preparedness to bring a situation under control has been proven in other cases of public protest. A strike initiative by the metro construction workers and employees of a local electrical transportation company quickly died out on its own, although it is not entirely clear what lay behind - promises and deals with the strike committee or the authorities' skillful pressure on the strikers.

A lack of serious confrontation between the community and the elite creates a peaceful atmosphere in the city. On the other hand, it significantly reduces the residents' protest potential. In Dnipropetrovsk, like the rest of Ukraine, mass protests against the suspension of an EU agreement were galvanised by the government's use of force on the night of November 30. In other words, there should be a

real visible conflict to make the reluctant Dnipropetrovsk residents join street protests.

EuroMaidan in Dnipropetrovsk remains a "weekend rally". Sunday rallies, called People's Veche by the opposition, gather a few thousands participants (the largest, of around 7 thousand people, was on December 8). The rest of the time the city's tranquil atmosphere belies any presence of protest feelings.

A useful comparison can be made here with the 2004 protests of the Orange revolution. Although they were not bigger in numbers, the protests' symbolic presence in the city was more evident. Orange ribbons on trees, flags flying from private and office balconies, badges and ribbons on people's clothes, cars decorated with orange symbols - the whole city so openly manifested its solidarity with the protest that the dry figures of the polling stations and their protocols looked like a complete nonsense. Now car drivers are happy to greet the protesters' march - an already traditional component of all Sunday rallies - with their horns, but are less enthusiastic about decorating their cars with the protest flags.

What may be the reason behind such passivity, considering that the residents' level of dissatisfaction with the authorities and their response to the recent events is very high? It should be admitted that, regretfully, Dnipropetrovsk proved unprepared to spontaneous civil activity and self-organisation. The 2004 protest took place under the leadership of the concrete political parties and had a well-defined goal - the annulment of the rigged election results and, if possible, the opposition candidate's victory in a new vote. The current protest, by contrast, is spontaneous, ambiguous and without a clear vector to the future. It requires from its participants a very high level of self-awareness and self-organisation. Party leaders - at least in Dnipropetrovsk - do

not support the movement with money or organisational effort. Although a positive thing in many respects, this has clearly proved too difficult a challenge for the city residents.

Perhaps, in spite of their cherished sense of individualism and independence, the people of Dnipropetrovsk still experience a stronger influence of the lingering consequences of the totalitarian system than their compatriots in Kiev or Lviv. They have a weaker belief in their own strength and a bigger hope for a "strong leader" and command from above. This may help explain why Dnipropetrovsk felt a deeper frustration after the Orange revolution failed to radically change Ukraine's society and the state. I often hear that - despite the general anger against the authorities and their policies such as tax increases - representatives of Dnipropetrovsk's business community justify their passivity in the current protest movement by saying: "We have already protested once. What did we get from it?" Indeed, current level of participation in the protest movement on the part of local small and medium-size entrepreneurs is incomparable to 2004, when this social category was very actively involved in the protests.

Oleksandr Blyuminov, a left-leaning blogger, wrote in his entry "Why will Maidan win?": "What is Ukrainian society today? It is split. But not in two opposing camps with their own goals and values, as we are being wrongly convinced by dumb propagandists. No, Ukrainian society is split between those who have developed a higher sense of subjective self-awareness and those who have not". This observation does sound reasonable and can be equally applied to Dnipropetrovsk. Recent events have clearly demonstrated that individualism of the type "my cottage is at the edge" (*moia khata skraiu*), typical of Dnipropetrovsk identity, does not amount to subject-

tivity. To be a subject does not mean to simply keep one's distance and care about one's proper interests; it is primarily to learn to take responsibility for one's own life and for the world around. This awareness is something that the residents of Dnipropetrovsk definitely lack; the result, to quote a favourite phrase of the independent Ukraine's first president, being "we have what we have": we have a high degree of anti-government criticism in daily life conversations and a low degree of public protest.

These factors, in my opinion, to a large extent determine the current low level of public support for the protest movement, despite the presence of a high degree of anti-government sentiment in Dnipropetrovsk society. The city is not so much pro-Russian, as it is damaged by the legacy of Russian and Soviet power. It is less pro-government than it is disillusioned and indifferent.

Demography of the rallies deserves a special attention. The base of any public protest in Dnipropetrovsk is usually composed of a specific category of people, the so-called "Hurrah-patriots" or "professional patriots". It is essentially a "protest substratum" consisting of older people who entered the independence period with a significant background experience of fighting against the system. They have carried on their fight for all 22 years of the independence, in the difficult context of the Russian-speaking and - to an extent - Soviet-minded Dnipropetrovsk. These people speak exclusively in Ukrainian, under no circumstances switch to the interlocutor's language, profess nationalist views and perceive themselves as inhabitants of a ghetto rather than equal citizens. As a result, they are hardly able to do anything more than express discontent in different ways. This category of people is helpless in the conditions of a spon-

taneous protest, when a community's creative potential and its ability to formulate a strategy and identify its goals acquire paramount importance.

On the other hand, participation of students, young business people and young professionals in the protest movement remains very low, at least on the local level. It is worth noting, however, that it is impossible to assess a real level of the protest potential in Dnipropetrovsk on the basis of the numbers and demographic composition of the city's rallies. Lots of local residents have left for Kiev's protests or travel there regularly to attend Sunday rallies. Obviously, those are mostly young, strong and active people. Perhaps, the demographic composition of EuroMaidan in Dnipropetrovsk is also determined by this factor - the departure of the youngest and most active protesters for the capital.

Moreover, Dnipropetrovsk residents are weary of the ongoing radicalisation of the problem of "two Ukraines", as a result of the events in Kiev. In a moment of crisis, Ukrainians' perceptions of the civilisational and ideological differences between Eastern and Western Ukraine become more acute (these differences exist although they are less dramatic than when presented by the advocates of separatism on both sides). For many residents of Eastern Ukraine, including Dnipropetrovsk, the protest movement embodies the values and meanings of the west of the country, which they do not share. Hence, their feeling of estrangement. And although EuroMaidan brings up many problems acutely painful for the whole Ukraine - such as corruption, the defacto elimination of independent courts, the transformation of police force into the authorities' personally controlled security services, and the economic downfall - these issues do not receive nearly enough emphasis to be able

to unite Ukraine's East and West in the search of a solution and a common movement. By contrast, nationalist slogans of the "Svoboda" party and its followers, as well as the protesters' general animosity towards the East as the president's stronghold, sow a feeling of alarm among rank-and-file city residents.

In an article "How to make sense of our senseless situation", Ukrainian historian and publicist Yaroslav Hrytsak argues that to foster a new Ukrainian nation the already existing union between Lviv and Kiev has to be extended to include a third component, engaging the country's eastern and southern regions. He writes: "For me personally the most suitable candidate for this role is Dnipropetrovsk - not the first city, but neither a second by far". Regrettably, he only makes a brief mention of this idea, without explaining further what makes Dnipropetrovsk worth the role.

I, for one, am ready to agree with the idea even without an explanation. Dnipropetrovsk does seem to be a suitable third pillar to powerfully support the fight for a transformation of the system. Donetsk and Lugansk have been subject to the pressure of the pro-government oligarchs and the informational blockade for far too long to provide such a reliable platform. Besides, the inhabitants of these regions have suffered an even more profound damage to their subjective self-awareness than their compatriots in Dnipropetrovsk, aggravated by years of the economic crisis. The third pillar, however, is to be chosen from these three symbolic cities which are invariably named as the supporting base for the incumbent authorities and the pro-Russian or - indeed - pro-Soviet sentiment.

What is clearly needed now is a sufficient motive for Dnipropetrovsk residents to cross the borderline between individual discontent and public protest. Should all the unhappy cit-

izens make their criticism public, this would surely come as a big surprise for the power vertical. For now, however, Dnipropetrovsk remains relatively disengaged from the protest. It is true that the maximum numbers of people attending EuroMaidan rallies in the city are comparable with other Ukrainian cities and are much higher than in other regime's "strongholds" such as Donetsk or Lugansk. It is also evident, however, that under certain mobilising factors the protest movement could grow much stronger.

To achieve this goal, it is in the first place necessary to locate Dnipropetrovsk's "launch mechanism". What can compel its citizens to start voicing their criticism actively and loudly? What can accelerate the evolution of the city's individualism into proper subjectivity? Alas, for now the questions remain unanswered.

translated by Vladyslava Reznik

EuroMaidan in Lviv: a View From the Inside

by Pavlo Ostrovs'kyj, Lviv

beginning of February 2014

The EuroMaidan movement began when angry Ukrainians all over the country started to protest against the government's decision to abandon the process of Ukraine's European integration. My fellow students and I joined a rally at Lviv's central square on the first day of the protest. We could not imagine then that the protest movement would reach such a scale and that the whole world would support the demands and hopes of Ukrainian people.

MAIDAN FOR THE FUTURE

I learned the news about the government's U-turn on Ukraine's EU integration from the internet. My friends and I were shocked. It became clear that instead of the promised EU standards Ukrainians could get a USSR 2.0. version. We had a feeling that we, Ukrainian students, had been suddenly deprived of a decent future; that everything had been decided behind our backs. We could not stand it any longer. On the same evening we gathered at our student dorm to discuss how we could influence the situation. In some cities people were already filling up their central squares to show their protest against the government's actions. Without wasting time, we got ready,

took the flags of Ukraine and the EU and made our way to Svoboda Avenue. We also brought with us a self-made poster "People of Kiev – all to the Maidan!" – realizing that main events would take place in the capital. On our way to Lviv's Maidan we were inviting our friends to join us straightaway (although it was kind of late for a rally at 10 p.m.). In two hours the number of people grew from 14 to 200. Some of the active participants came out with the idea of a flash-mob – it took us only a



Maidan in Lviv © Pavlo Ostrovs'kyj

few minutes to form a huge human circle and the letters EU. We realized the importance of making the voice of young Ukrainians heard, but we could not imagine that we were taking part in historical events. Our act of civil resistance lasted for more than four hours; we



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parted with the decision to meet again the following night.

The second day of the protests was remarkable for its massive student protest rally which gathered thousands of students in front of the regional state administration. Young people moved along the streets of Lviv in huge columns chanting "Ukraine is Europe", "Join us!" and "Revolution". In the evening the first mass rally took place in Svoboda Avenue. Lviv's mayor Andriy Sadovyi called on the city residents to take part in the event. Well-known public figures took to the stage to express their disagreement with the government's decision and to demand the signing of an association agreement with the EU. During the rally the activists were putting up tents, for the protest was announced as an indefinite action. The tents were supposed to become a centre of the European movement in Lviv. The authorities did not approve of the tents and tried to ban them through court. But they did not succeed.

Every day the Maidan in Lviv saw between 10 and 30 thousand participants. At the beginning those were mostly young people. University administrations allowed their students free attendance so that they could partic-

ipate in the protests. To keep the protesters in high spirits, the organizers put up a stage and invited to the Maidan singers, bands, public figures and other speakers. A field kitchen opened near the main tent to provide food and drink to everyone.

Why did all those people come out? They did it because their dream about a decent life in a European Ukraine was stolen. They were frustrated by a sudden change in the country's geopolitical course and hoped to influence the president into signing an association agreement in Vilnius. But the 29th of November brought another disappointment – the agreement was not signed. And on November the 30th a few dozens of students remaining in the Maidan in Kiev were violently dispersed by the special police unit Berkut. Even those who tried to escape were badly beaten. Ukrainian and foreign journalists were also among the victims.

A NEW QUALITY OF THE MAIDAN

A violent crackdown on a peaceful protest outraged the Ukrainians – in the evening of November the 30th thousands of people joined a mass protest rally in Lviv. They came to protest against the brutal dispersal of the students in Kiev. The Maidan in Lviv announced general mobilization – every day thousands of people from Lviv left their city for Kiev to support the protests in the capital. One of the tents in Svoboda Avenue was turned into a headquarters where those who cared could bring money, warm clothes and food for the protesters in Kiev and Lviv.

From the first days of EuroMaidan like-minded demonstrators in Kiev started to form various interest groups. Thus, Maidan's Civil Sector would organize creative actions – they worked with the police force persuading them

to take the people's side and treating them to hot tea; they made newspapers and carried out public awareness work. The initiative EuroMaidan SOS united human rights defenders and all those who wanted to help the victims of Berkut's brutality. Car drivers joined the Automaidan movement and organized pickets near the residences of the most odious government officials. There were dozens of similar associations in EuroMaidan, who co-existed in a relative peace.

Lviv's Maidan saw the formation of its own civil movements. One of those was an association for an "Economic boycott of the Party of Regions business interests". The idea was to exert economic pressure on the Party of Regions deputies. Volunteers of the boycott movement would stand outside the shops belonging to members of the ruling party and distribute flyers with the calls to boycott their products. The argument was quite simple – every hryvnia paid to the pro-government businessmen would be used to strengthen Yanukovich's rule and his authoritarian regime. As a result of the numerous pickets and public condemnation, the PR fraction in Lviv city council and the regional administration voluntarily dissolved. The remaining loyalist members of the ruling party continue to count losses.

Our struggle was also inspired by the unprecedented levels of support from the city's business community and ordinary citizens. Representatives of local businesses contributed to organizing bus transportation to Kiev. It was also a pleasure to see automobile points serving free hot tea and coffee to everyone in Lviv's Maidan. Mobile network operators in Svoboda Avenue offered free top-up service, while city hostels provided free rooms to the activists. Hundreds of city residents brought food and warm clothing to protect the protesters in Kiev and Lviv from the cold weather.

NO ACCESS TO POLITICIANS

Another characteristic of Lviv's Maidan is its wary attitude to politicians. In the first days of the protests students would not allow politicians on to the Maidan stage. Thus, a Svoboda deputy Yuriy Mykhalchyshyn who sneaked to the stage and made a disparaging comment about the students who guarded the stage from politicians was booed by the crowd. This episode is quite remarkable also for the fact that Svoboda won the 2012 local elections in Lviv and Mykhalchyshyn became a deputy in one of the city constituencies. After the crackdown of November the 30th politicians were allowed access to the Maidan's stage, but the number of people in the square began to fall. The current situation is different from the Maidan 2004 when Ukrainians pledged their hopes with one politician. Now most people understand that ordinary citizens and politicians have different goals and they can rely only on themselves and the like-minded comrades. Thus, one of the main tasks after EuroMaidan's victory would be the creation of the efficient mechanisms of public control over politicians and government officials.

A HOT TIME

In January the numbers of protesters in Kiev's and Lviv's Maidans grew smaller. While the attendance was higher on Sundays, on weekdays it largely fell. At this point, however, the authorities added a generous helping of fuel to the protest fire – the Party of Regions and communist MPs at the Verkhovna Rada in what was a clear violation of Parliament's voting procedures passed a number of laws which significantly restricted civil rights and were primarily directed against the participants of mass protests. The manner in which the laws

were passed deserves a special attention. Pro-government MPs voted for themselves and for their absent colleagues. Although there was slightly more than a hundred deputies present in the assembly, the electronic voting system showed 239 yes-votes, with the 226 needed. When the opposition MPs tried to stop the illegal voting by removing the electronic cards of the missing deputies, parliament's vice-speaker Igor Kaletnik proposed a hand vote. All present pro-government MPs voted by a show of hands and without even bothering to count them, Volodymyr Oliynyk, a member of the counting committee, announced the adoption of the laws by 235 votes. The adopted laws were even more brutal than the violations of the parliamentary procedures that took place. Thus, they introduced criminal liability for libel and extremism. These concepts were given such a wide interpretation that any potential criticism of the authorities or calls to resist the state despotism could lead to serious prison sentences. The laws also introduced a ban on car processions of more than 5 vehicles and a possibility of blocking internet sites by state officials. Moreover, all civil society organizations obtaining grants from abroad were supposed to be registered as "foreign agents". These are only a few from the list of absurd legal norms introduced by the controversial laws. They sparked uproar in Ukrainian society and were dubbed by journalists as the "dictatorship laws". In their comments on the new laws, however, state officials argued that similar provisions existed in many European countries.

On January 19th, the Epiphany festival in Ukraine, there were massive protest rallies in many Ukrainian cities; protesters in Kiev's EuroMaidan expected from the opposition an action plan against the dictatorship and the name of a leader of the resistance move-

ment. When Arseniy Yatsenyuk, the leader of Batkivshchyna, declared in his speech that the only protest leader is the Ukrainian people, EuroMaidan took his words as mockery. The anger spilled over, especially among the most radical protesters. Right radicals clashed with the police lines on their way to parliament in Hrushevskoho street. Protesters, led by the "Right sector", threw Molotov cocktails; the police responded with fire from traumatic weapons. From time to time, fighters of riot-police Berkut would leave their lines to snatch and violently beat a protester. In response, the radicals set on fire several police buses. A few hours into the confrontation, a water gun was brought from the side of the Verkhovna Rada and started to spurt water on the protesters. Considering that the temperatures in Kiev were well below zero, such government's actions amount to torture in accordance with the international law. Later police officials claimed that the water gun was used to put down the fire of the burning bus. In actual fact, however, the bus had completely burned down long before that.

A POPULAR GAME: "BLOCK BERKUT"

The government called for additional police forces and Berkut units from all over Ukraine to reinforce its positions in the capital. The protest movement responded with a surprising efficient self-organizing measure. The information about the police mobilization quickly spread in the regions, with people all over the country organizing blockades of the police units and Berkut bases, and coordinating their activities through social networks. Roads and exits from military units were effectively blocked. This campaign helped to obstruct the movement of police forces in Lviv, Volyn, Rivno, Ivano-Frankivsk, Ter-

nopil, Odessa and Transcarpathian regions.

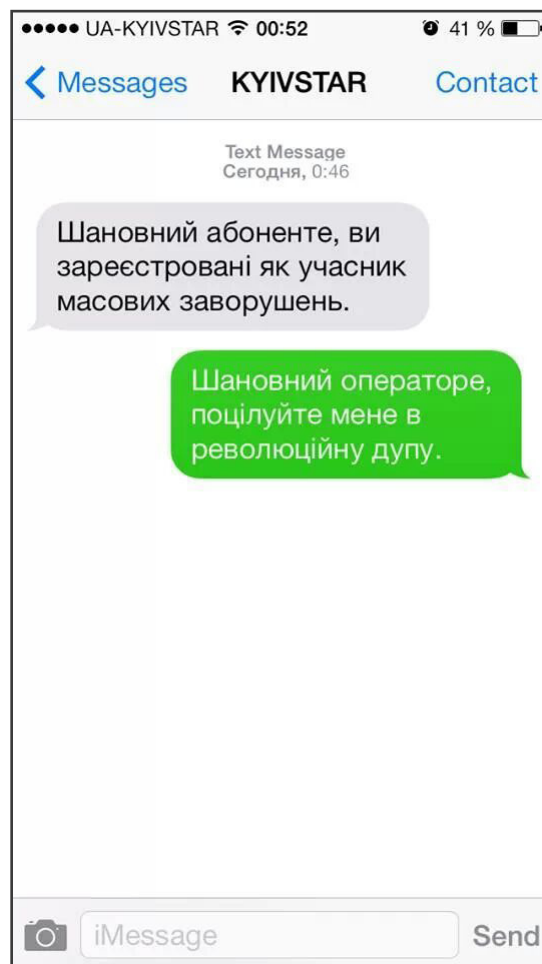
I was lucky to take part in a night shift at a police base in Lviv. All the exits from the base are blocked with car tires; every block post has its own kitchen and a fire to keep warm. The posts have radio connection; if necessary the activists can move from one post to another. Since the weather is cold, volunteers join the blockade for two-three hours. And concerned Lviv residents bring them hot drinks, soup, sandwiches, hot bottles and warm gloves. The atmosphere at such block posts is incredible – people easily get along together for a common goal. They realize that their task is not to let through police reinforcement units who will use force against the protesters in Kiev.

The ten block posts are constantly manned by around a hundred people who feel honoured to sacrifice some of their personal time for the success of the revolution. The city council building is decorated with a meaningful slogan “A free place for free people”.

THE REVOLUTIONARY ADMINISTRATION

After the news of the first deaths in Kiev, Lviv announced a strike. Local people gathered in front of the regional administration and made their way inside to demand answers from the head of Lviv regional administration Oleh Salo, appointed by Yanukovich. Under the pressure from the infuriated citizens, Salo submitted his resignation. But the protesters decided to stay in the building and keep it under control. The entrance to the government building is obstructed by a barricade and is guarded by civil and party activists. Recently they had an argument about the division of control in the building, but managed to sort it out. The overtaking of Lviv state administration had a domino effect – it was followed by similar occupations of state institutions in

a dozen of Ukraine's regions with low pro-government support. On January 30th the activists responded to the request of the head of



Every participant at the Kyiv Euromaidan received this message on his cell phone: “Dear customer, you are registered as a participant of a mass riot.” “Dear operator, you may kiss my revolutionary ass.”

the regional council of deputies and vacated the buildings. However, the administration remains under control of the People's council, which was formed by the Maidan.

It is quite clear now that the struggle will go on, and the residents of Lviv will have a strong role in it. Although the Verkhovna

Rada scrapped the dictatorship laws, the president was not in hurry to sign this decision into law. The newly adopted amnesty law for the arrested activists has been labeled a “hostages law”. Local people are also outraged by the fact that two of their compatriots from Lviv – Yuriy Verbytskyi and Roman Senyk – were killed in the past few days. The tension is high in Lviv, as it is in Kiev. Arseniy Yatsenyuk’s words on the Ukrainian people as the only leader of the resistance turned out to be prophetic. The nation is tired of waiting for European sanctions and decisive actions from the politicians. Ukrainians have dramatically taken the process of building a new country in their own hands. Their main principle is self-management. EuroMaidan has self-defense units – a prototype of a military and police force; medical volunteers, a kitchen, a group of its own lawyers. If necessary, it will find its own economists, financial specialists, diplomats and tax officials. EuroMaidan has made clear one simple truth: it is possible to function without official state institutions, which makes life only better. When needed, people can form their own self-management institutions and provide them with official powers.

translated by Vladyslava Reznik

Laws are for “Suckers”, not for “Big Shots”

by Larysa Denysenko, Kiev

beginning of February 2014

Euromaidan 2013 was born as a peaceful protest and later an uprising of Ukrainian people against: the lies of the authorities and pro-government forces, violations of human rights and basic freedoms, abuse of the law, state pressure on all levels, humiliation and distortion of values, concepts, meanings.

In 2004 the events that led to the Orange revolution and a re-run election of the President of Ukraine included systematic violations of electoral rights and freedom of speech on the part of the authorities. They were opposed by Ukrainians who took to the streets to protest against the rigged result of the election. Numerous systematic violations were later acknowledged in a historical decision of the Supreme Court of Ukraine.

This time the situation is more complex. The president of Ukraine and government officials have committed systematic violations of human rights, enshrined above all in article 39 (freedom of peaceful assembly), article 28 (right to being treated with dignity), article 29 (right to freedom and personal integrity), article 34 (right to freedom of speech and free expression of thought and beliefs), article 55 (right to a fair trial) of the Constitution of Ukraine and the corresponding articles of the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, to which Ukraine is a party. Moreover, the authorities and state officials have committed grave violations of the principle of the rule of law, guaranteed in part 1, article 8 of the Constitution, together with the constitutional principle of article 19, which states that state officials are obliged to act only on the grounds and in the manner envisaged by the Constitution and the laws of Ukraine.

We are now facing a situation when the constitutional and conventional mechanisms, as well as the laws, are powerless to resist the usurpation of power by the president, who suppressed the legislative, executive and judicial branches of power in the country.

Ukrainian parliament, dominated by the parliamentary majority of the president's ruling party and its traditional allies the communists, blocked the possibility of a legitimate resignation of the current government. A corresponding bill was proposed by the opposition but was not voted by parliament, making it impossible from a procedural point of view to raise the issue in parliament again this year.

The anti-constitutional violence was orchestrated and directed by representatives of the executive power. The special police unit “Berkut” - part of Ukraine's law enforcement system - committed violations of a number of Constitutional provisions by conducting a violent dispersal of the peaceful protesters in the Independence Square. They had to be rescued by the Church who provided shelter to the victims and saved them from further violence.

Currently, we observe violations of Ukraine's criminal law, the law on police, and the norms concerned with administrative violations against the protesters who took part in Automaidan motorcades. They are persecuted by traffic police, summoned for interrogations and are subject to police raids at home addresses.

Moreover, the pro-government forces exert a constant pressure on the vulnerable part of Ukrainian society, especially the employees of state enterprises on the state budget payroll. The authorities use pressure, intimidation and threats against

those who dare to peacefully resist injustice.

In recognition of an active role of Ukrainian students in the current events, the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine has colluded with the Security service in violation of articles 7, 8 and 14 of the Law on Personal Data Protection. They force university and college teachers to reveal personal data of student protesters and threaten them with expulsion from higher education institutions.

Ukrainian courts have demonstrated their complete lack of independence from the executive and the president. By an "order" of Kiev state administration and in violation of the constitutional norms, they have curtailed the right to peaceful assembly in the city without providing a legal justification for such a decision.

On December 19th 2013, the constitutional majority in parliament effectively replaced the judiciary by passing a law "On eliminating negative consequences, preventing prosecution and punishing people in connection with events taking place during peaceful assemblies". The law guarantees freedom from criminal prosecution to all participants of peaceful assemblies and protest actions. The courts, however, continue to ignore the law; as of December 2013, many protesters remained in detention.

On January 16th 2014, parliament adopted a number of repressive laws in a hasty procedure that violated the procedural code, the constitution and certain decisions of the Constitutional Court of Ukraine. Regardless of the violations, the president signed the laws and made them effective on January 17th. The laws significantly reduce the scope of human rights and freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution of Ukraine (which is directly forbidden in part 3 article 22 of the Constitution), and enshrined in international treaties to which Ukraine is

a party, such as the European Convention of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. All these laws are intended to strengthen and legitimise an ugly symbiosis of a criminal-police state, whose citizens are suppressed by the authorities for any critical comment, thought, or statement; for free movement and peaceful assemblies. In other words, the laws adopted with numerous violations and in direct violation of the Constitution seek to legalise repressions.

In accordance with the principles, laid down in the decisions of the European Court of Human Rights, state authorities and state officials should carry positive and procedural commitments.

In particular, this concerns establishing precise and clear rules, defined in the special law on peaceful assemblies, which has not so far been approved by parliament. At the same time, however, the so-called "January 16 laws" introduced an additional article 110-1 to the Criminal Code of Ukraine, which establishes criminal liability for very loosely defined "extremist activity" (including "extremist" comments in the internet and social networks).

Because of the state's complete failure to meet its commitments in the protection of the citizens' rights and freedoms, the Ukrainian people rely directly on the constitutional provisions. The realisation of this right, however, is obstructed by courts, whose direct responsibility should be to ensure its full implementation.

Moreover, first-tier courts have been engaged in an unacceptable practice of turning the victims of state violence into perpetrators. In their decisions they tend to resort to an outrageously disproportionate punishing measure of preventive detention.

Although courts of appeal have been partly able to redeem the situation, profes-

sional conduct of some of the first-tier judges raises doubts about their commitment to justice as one of the basic constitutional premises. A judicial system which should be based on a subtle understanding of justice consistently undermines it by turning the victims into criminals.

The violence committed by “Berkut” took place in violation of a constitutional norm allowing law enforcement officials to refuse carrying out a criminal order. This was the result of yet another violation - the unlawful actions of the law enforcement authorities who disregarded article 29 of a special law on policing by authorising law enforcement activity at night time.

It is worth emphasising that the introduction of the so-called “laws of January 16” guarantees impunity to police and “law enforcement” officials responsible for carrying out the brutal dispersal of the peaceful protesters in the Maidan. The fact that this sort of an “indulgence letter” was provided to the perpetrators by members of the pro-government parliamentary parties and the president proves - for me - that the unlawful orders of a clampdown came from most senior state officials.

Thus, the actions of the president of Ukraine and state authorities of all branches of power - legislative, executive and even judiciary - subvert article 5 of the Constitution of Ukraine declaring the Ukrainian people as the bearer of sovereignty and the sole source of power in the country.

In critical conditions, the people are allowed to act according to the principle of direct democracy and defend their rights in a peaceful protest, relying exclusively on direct application of the constitutional norms and the provisions of Ukraine’s international treaties.

A peaceful protest lasted until the adoption of the so-called “laws” on January 16th,

which effectively crushed the existence of freedom of peaceful assembly in the country as such. This led to a new form of confrontation.

The people of a nation has a right to rebellion* under the circumstances when it is otherwise impossible to abolish a government - a government which will not voluntarily resign, which adopts anti-constitutional laws, which ignores the principle enshrined in article 19 of the Constitution of Ukraine, which manipulates the country’s courts and law enforcement services, and which commits daily violations of constitutional and international treaties provisions.

It is a legitimate right of the people which - although not directly proclaimed by the Constitution - can be explained and justified by a number of existing constitutional norms (in the Constitution of Lithuania, for example, this right is directly acknowledged). It is a right advocated in the works of the famous philosopher John Locke and mentioned in various international documents.

In accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (a binding international treaty for Ukraine, according to article 9 of the Constitution): “it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law”.

But the legitimate actions of the protesters were met with even more oppression on the part of the government, including violence that left several people dead, beatings and persecution.

Why is all this happening? The person who currently holds office of the President of Ukraine is a criminal, twice convicted of violent crimes against personal property.

The political elite in modern Ukraine does

* author’s emphasis

not feature descendants of the aristocracy, who were subject to systematic extermination at all periods of the nation's history. Instead, the country gave birth to a genetically defective elite - comprising of party bureaucracy with hereditary riches, on the one hand, and business elite with largely illegally accumulated wealth, on the other. To put it simpler, the country is ruled by thieves and party functionaries. But in this particular case, we have to deal with ordinary criminal thugs of the lowest rung.

It is a difficult and painful question why the Ukrainians had to elect this particular person as their president. Regardless of the fact that the elections were to a great extent rigged, one has to admit that Viktor Yanukovich has a large electoral base. Some saw in him a "strong hand", a "simple lad like us" or indeed a "person who knew suffering".

Soviet prison system was meant to cripple and destroy people. It was especially damaging for those who already had rather shaky moral principles. Prison may not necessarily kill a human but it does kill humaneness. Prison lives by its own rules, laws and habits. Those do not include respect for human dignity, rights and freedoms. In fact, there are no rights and freedoms in prison.

When a prisoner goes back to normal life, he tends - unconsciously or otherwise - to apply the same rules that exist behind bars in free life.

Such people live by the right of force, by the right of a "big boss"; it is as if they have a microchip of discrimination placed under their skin - it is a mechanism dictating to humiliate the weak, to intimidate, to bully; requiring to annihilate a strong and principled opponent to be able to intimidate the weak, to suppress them and oppress their will. **The complete disregard for val-**

ues and rights is the matrix of a criminal.*

A characteristic recent episode is the vile attack on the journalist Tetyana Chornovil, famous for her exposure of corruption among Ukraine's highest criminals-in-office, such as the president, prime-minister and the interior minister. She was attacked at night on the Kyiv-Boryspil motorway and violently beaten. It is worth paying a special attention to the official cynicism and the complete lack of professionalism in the police actions - after the attack they opened an investigation on the grounds of "hooliganism", a criminal code article which mainly deals with public order violations. While the victim remained in intensive care, with medically confirmed serious to severe injuries, the authorities gave in to the pressure on the part of the media and human rights defenders and reclassified the crime. If we take into account the time of the crime, its details, the victim's professional and oppositional activity, and the lack of transparency in the police investigation, we may come to a conclusion that the attack can be qualified as a contracted attempted murder. The authorities in the meantime are trying to present the crime as a banal road accident gone wrong.

An avalanche of human rights abuse is getting worse and more horrifying. After the beatings, violence and torture by the police, the authorities failed to prevent the deaths of least five people. "Berkut" continues to persecute people and torture them with brutality and cynicism. There is ghastly video footage of many episodes available online; Ukrainians who can't remain indifferent try to document the crimes by collecting evidence and video materials.

Laws are for "suckers", not for "big shots". The "suckers" are we, ordinary Ukrainians, as has been well demonstrated by the so-called "laws" of January 16th. And as for "big shots",

* *author's emphasis*

they know no laws and may completely ignore them. Hence, the president's actions are absolutely logical and predictable within his mindset. All other branches of power act correspondingly - in a conscious or unconscious hierarchical imitation of the "big boss".

The president's inner circle contains personalities with an easily recognisable criminal past; one may even get an impression that the **rampant gangsterism** of the early 90s is **returning** to plague our country as it did at the beginning of its independence. The bandits grew muscles, they sharpened their fangs, **they have caught Ukrainians unprepared for such a huge amnesty and the criminals' ascension to big and small thrones.**

"Berkut's savage attack against the peaceful protesters can be also seen in this light. In the criminal world the allegiance - and especially of those lower in the hierarchy - must be tied in blood. It is a mutual bloody cover-up, which makes the subordinates more obedient, more submissive, more dependable. It also makes it easier to turn them into scapegoats and hold responsible for everything.

In Christian church believers partake of the blood of Christ from the priest's hands; Ukrainian officials "partook" of the blood of victims from the hands of their "big boss".

The perverse culture of total "circular cover-up" reveals itself in the alleged resignations of some minor government officials and investigations against certain representatives of the state, whose names and official positions remain unknown. It is an unacceptable fact, considering these people's public role and status.

The Ukrainian people are fighting against this system by:

- **establishing the principle of direct democracy;**
- **conducting peaceful protests to defend**

their human rights and freedoms;

- **defending Ukraine's European choice;**
- **demanding the resignation and court trials of state officials whose actions violate the Constitution of Ukraine;**

- **aiming to change not only the government but mainly the whole political system; to achieve a new quality and essence of state reforms and state officials.**

It is necessary to emphasise that perhaps for the first time in the history of Ukrainian confrontations, Euromaidan does not simply raise the most pressing and immediate question of changing the government. The Euromaidan movement involves the work of analysts, independent experts, various professionals, small and medium size business entrepreneurs, scholars and artists, who on their own initiative develop projects of a total change and reload of the current political system that has completely discredited and practically destroyed itself. Political system transformation should become the most important task for a new people's government in the future.

One of the main issues here is the lustration. Many analysts argue that, unlike Germany, the Czech Republic, Poland and Lithuania, Ukraine has been fatally slow with starting the process of lustration. **As a result, independent Ukraine has admitted into its government elite former communist party officials and members of secret services who used to work for and maintain the repressive system of the Soviet power. One can't but agree.**

The opposition that came to power in 2004 wasted the country's chance for lustration, provided by the Orange revolution. It was a chance to lustrate the officials responsible for systematic violations of electoral rights, freedom of thought and freedom of speech in

Ukraine. This failure had a number of negative consequences, which can be illustrated by the following example.

Serhiy Kivalov, then head of the Central election commission whose negative role during the elections was recognised by the Supreme Court of Ukraine, is currently head of the parliamentary committee on the rule of law and justice. He is in charge of legal issues and the provision of legal education, which is an utter nonsense, considering the accusations against Kivalov as a state official whose duty was to ensure a fair and transparent election but who instead got involved in a massive electoral fraud.

It is then of utmost importance to ensure that this time a law on lustration will be implemented to prevent those officials, who by their anti-constitutional acts or complacent passivity caused systematic violations of human rights and freedoms in the country, from serving in all branches of state power, including local government, educational and scientific institutions, courts and bar, armed forces and other military units, tax and customs authorities and other state institutions with quasi-judicial functions.

Of no less importance is the issue of individual re-accreditation of all judges, state officials, and members of law enforcement agencies, which could allow to identify those people who have no moral right to occupy their positions or be engaged in similar professional activities.

Systematic changes will be required in almost all spheres of public life to avoid the possibility of systematic violations of human rights and freedoms in the future. This is a project that many independent analysts and experts have been working on. It is a project for everyone who cares for Ukraine's future, who feels personally responsible for the quality of life, quality of people, quality of the state in our country.

About the Author:

Larysa Denysenko is writer and lawyer. Her literary career began in 2002 with the victory at the literary contest 'Crowning the Word'. Larysa Denysenko is the author of 12 books for adults and 3 books for children. She was born in 1973 in Kyiv. She graduated from the law faculty of Taras Shevchenko Kyiv National University, passed a law draft course at the Justice Department of the Netherlands. She is one of the attorneys who represent the human rights in European Court of Human Rights (Strasbourg). She worked for the Justice Department of Ukraine as a scientific consultant in specialized parliamentary committee, managed the national department of 'Transparency International'. Several years she combined her legal practice with work at nation-wide 1+1 Channel, where she is the author and the host of culturological program 'Document +'.

e-mail: larysa_d@voliacable.com

translated by Vladyslava Reznik

The Writers and the Maidan

by Alexander Kratochvil, Prague

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When the Soviet Union was dismantled in the early 1990s, the Ukrainian author and civil rights activist Dmytro Pavlyčko stated with regard to the significance of the Ukrainian national poet Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861): “Our rebirth is taking place under the flags and slogans of Shevchenko”. Even during and after the Orange Revolution Shevchenko played a positive role as an icon for the unity of the then politically and socio-culturally heterogeneous regions. The life and works of Shevchenko are seen in the traditionalist discourse by many Ukrainians as a symbol of the country, culture and history. The classical western Ukrainian author of the 19th century Ivan Franko (1856-1916) and the charismatic representative of Ukrainian modernity Lesja Ukrajinka (1871-1913) hold a comparable, but less influential position as intellectual and moral authorities. With attributions such as prophet (Shevchenko), stone crusher and conscience of the people (Franko), or “chain-breaking daughter” of the Prometheus (Ukrainka) these authors are given the function of creating a national identity and securing cultural continuity. These three authors are engaged as heroes and identity-creating figures on the basis of a tradition of “national awakening” and “nation-building” which has its roots in the 19th century. This tendency was even intensified during Soviet times because of the educational and propagandistic function of the literature of socialist realism. This tradition shaped a literary discourse, which continuously comprised the national commitment and responsibility of the authors and their works and persisted into the early 1990s.

Due to the numerous restrictions on the Ukrainian language in Tsarist Russia begin-

ning with Peter I. and the creeping Russification of Ukrainian culture and society in the 20th century during the Soviet Union, the cultivation of language always was an important factor for Ukrainian identity. No Ukrainian author could elude this aspect of preserving cultural identity, as the extent to which authors were committed to their language and culture was an important indicator of patriotism in Soviet times and afterwards. However, this patriotism was ambivalent as the Stalinist repressions at the beginning of the 1930s heralded a process through which the Soviet Ukrainian authors generally unconsciously undermined the attractiveness and vitality of the Ukrainian language and literature by preserving Ukrainian literature in the folkloric forms of the 19th century. This was accompanied by an increasing disinterest in the literature and the marginalization of the Ukrainian language as a conveyor of this literature. With a combination of socio-political factors of Russification, this led to an intended loss of prestige of the Ukrainian language and literature as a whole.

At the beginning of the 1990s, the generation of authors born in the 1960s and early 1970s began to question and programmatically deconstruct this discourse surrounding the national and social mission, for example with the carnival literature derived from Michail Bachtin, whose most renowned representative is the internationally known author Jurij Andrukhovych (born in 1960), or with the prose of Oksana Zabuzhko (born 1960), which deals with gender-related and post-colonial issues and has also been translated into other languages. This generation rejected the social obligations and political functions of writers

all the more because those established authors from the older generation who became politically active in the early 1990s (e.g. Dmytro Pavlyčchko or Ivan Drachč), were unsuccessful and soon appeared to be politically corrupted. The new literature of the Zabuzhko-Andruchovych generation of the 1990s was, by contrast, political in the sense that it reflected the specifically national and historical constellations of Ukraine, which emerged during the cultural and political transformations, and revealed the ideological constructs of the past with its metanarratives and aesthetic strategies in a playful manner. These forms of reflection also comprised present works and authors of Soviet and anti-Soviet orientation, which resulted in significant tensions in the Ukrainian literary scene¹.

The handling of the historical self-image, cultural remembrance and national identification strategies in the second half of the 1990s had a massive impact on the organization and the institutions of literary life in Ukraine. It became decentralized according to regional, socio-political, aesthetic and institutional characteristics². This trend continued into the new millennium. The generation of authors following Zabuzhko and Andruchovych belong

to the global millennium generation, which according to the recently debated cover story by the American social scientist Joel Stein in "Time Magazine" is ironically called the "me me me generation". This generation is regarded as apolitical and socially passive. The protagonists in this literature, which is often categorized as pop culture, depict themselves in their environment in a self-centered manner.

However, this self-centeredness is only apolitical, when it is measured with a traditional, institutionally oriented and normative political concept that is linked to parties and ideological programs. Starting from their own interests and a non-institutionally anchored and organized, rather individual commitment, the generation is indeed political in the sense of civil society involvement. The development of civil society is also seen as a way of leaving post-Soviet thinking behind. This attitude is clearly reflected in literature, cinema and music. Irena Karpa (born in 1980) provides an example of this in her novel *Bitches get everything*, in which she describes the experiences of a Ukrainian actor and director; in the novel there are repeated references to the consistently ongoing politicized issue of the usage of the Ukrainian language:

"– 'My sweetheart, you know, if you ever want to achieve anything, you have to eradicate all 'Little Russian' things in you. Stay for a while here in Moscow, visit the theater language course, and assimilate here. .. This is what all actresses from Ukraine did here. Schulschenko, for example ...'

And then everybody – cameramen, producers and directors – started to boast how their mothers or fathers returned to Moscow from Tbilisi, Yerevan, Kharkov, or Tallinn after the war, crammed Russian poems, practiced theatrical language from morning to

1 For example Andruchovyč, Ju. *Rekreaciji*, different editions (printed first in 1992); Andruchovyč, Ju. *Moskovijada*, different editions. (first printed in 1993), Zabuzhko, O. *Polovi dosldžennja z ukrajins'koho seksu*, different editions (first printed in 1996), Irvanec', O. *Rivne-Rovno*, different editions (first printed in 2001).

2 See also Mala Ukrajins'ka encyklopedija aktual'noi literatury. Proekt povernennja demiurhiv. (eds.) Ješkilev, V., Andruchovyč, Ju. In: *Pleroma* 3/ 1998; in greater detail see also Kratochvil, A. *Aufbruch und Rückkehr. Ukrainische und tschechische Prosa im Zeichen der Postmoderne*. Berlin 2013, pp. 53-73; for the restructuring of the literary canon, see. Hundorova, T: *The Canon Reversed. New Ukrainian Literature of the 1990s*. In: *Journal of Ukrainian Studies*, Nr. 26, Summer-winter 2001, pp. 249-270.

night, and strictly forbade themselves from articulating one single word in the provincial languages of the losers that they had left behind.

– ‘And look, they accomplished everything! – yelled someone and drew strong applause.

Trisha smiles amicably [...] – ‘Thank you very much, my dears’, – thought Trisha and grinned widely. You are all really very kind, but I could care less about your recipes for success. Why should I destroy something inside me? I came to create something – myself and something around me. I will go home and build my own empire. This is how everything always begins.”³

Like in their literary text, the younger authors also take a different approach in their public appearances than the “Zabužko-Andruchovýč generation”, which appealed to a more intellectual audience in their lectures, essays and newspaper interviews. The younger authors like Serhij Žadan (born in 1974), Irena Karpa, Larysa Denysenko (1973) use more popular, mass media formats including social networks. By participating in concerts, demonstrations, civil disobedience activities, they took on a public relations function and attracted attention to the events. Popular musicians and bands such as the Eurovision Song Contest winner Ruslana Lyzhyc’ka (born in 1973) or Taras Chubaj (born in 1970) and Svjatoslavs Vakarchuk (born in 1975) also have a high profile in this regard.

In the past the artists tended to only seldom state their social or political position. This changed with the 2013 Euro-Maidan at the latest. Both the actors who at the beginning of the protest movement were primarily students or

younger people, as well as the observers of the Maidan movement alluded to their independence from the political parties time and time again during the first weeks and massively defended themselves against being swallowed and manipulated by the opposition parties. In their performances and statements authors and musicians such as Zhadan, Karpa or Ruslana supported this renunciation of the traditional parties and the institutionalized and generally corrupt post-Soviet politics. They assisted the civil society activities surrounding the Maidan movement and the social actions based on the activities of individuals and groups. Thus, Maidan developed its own organizational and social structures during the week-long protests.

Politicians from the established parties as well as the opposition parties lagged behind the potential of civil society as represented by the Maidan, which as Denysenko stated became the “germ cell” of the new Ukrainian politics. There will be no *déjà-vu* of a second Orange Revolution resulting in the restoration of the “old system”, because – in addition to the different political context – the Euro-Maidan is being carried out and organized by a different and younger generation. And they did not take to the streets because of a president and as Andrej Kurkov writes “they do not want their ideas to be packed into the slogans of the opposition parties. They will not let anyone take away their independence and dignity. Therefore it is not their objective to put someone in office, rather to live in a civilized, European Ukraine” (taz, 9 December 2013).

After approximately three weeks of demonstrations and protests, the moment arrived at which the representatives of the protest movement realized that the Maidan demands can hardly be met without including opposi-

³ Karpa, I. Bitches get everything. Charkiv 2007. pp. 184-185 (Translation AK)

tion politicians. Thus, the Ukrainian writers ultimately lent their voice to the opposition politicians for the formulation of a first political action program, which stated the short-term and medium-term objectives of the Maidan movement and called on Jacenjuk, Tjahnybok and Klitschko to finally act in a convincing way on the basis of a clear-cut program. The Agenda 5/12 was prepared by Irena Karpa and Viktorija Narizhna and immediately signed by several thousand people. Members of all generations joined the call, and subsequently the younger and middle-aged authors met in a literal and figurative sense on Maidan Square. This resulted in additional initiatives (e.g. on social networks with the popular ironical comments of Jurij Vynnychuk, the media appearances of Zabuzhko and Zhadan, which had legal consequences, or Andruchovyč's Open Letter to Foreign Media).

The Agenda 5/12 can be divided into a catalogue of demands with three foci. The first pertains to social issues such as the protection of the protesters from police violence as well as the release of the political prisoners. The second point concerns the political system and demands for the government to resign, the signing of the association agreement with the European Union, a new electoral law, a lustration law as well as demands for a change to the constitution regarding the powers of the president. The third point appeals more to the emotional level and explicitly calls on opposition politicians to do their work as politicians and present a reform program for the first year of government. The proponents of the agenda expressed their wholehearted support to the opposition politicians.

The point in time for the Agenda 5/12 was well chosen, directly before the mass mobilization on the second Sunday of December on which the "March of Millions" took place in

Kiev. In the authors' view the enormous power of the protest definitely required an action and reform program for the time after Maidan. They stated that a Plan B and Plan C would probably also be necessary, in case there are riots and police crackdowns and a state of emergency is declared. All of this had been ominously looming in the air for weeks. The writers now gave the cues to their politicians. They stressed that "despite their deep antipathy towards Janukovych they do not want his head, rather wish to have their own country back for themselves, a country in which there will be no place for figures such as Janukovych and Asarov as well as for Titushky⁴ and thugs from the Berkut special unit."

The authors emphasize how poorly the ruling politicians deal with the state entrusted to them and the people and how they view the state and its people as resources for their personal enrichment like in some form of stone-age capitalism. According to them, Janukovych is someone who since taking office has acted like an occupier of Ukraine who stops at no one and nothing. This "occupier" came to power due to the failure and weakness of the Orange politicians.

The total rejection of the current political regime by so many and primarily young people is a revolt against political incompetence and the arrogance of power. After the bloody police crackdown on peaceful demonstrators in late November on Maidan Square, Larysa Denysenko directly addressed Janukovych in writing: "You have no lifeline and no line of

4 Strong, younger men, who were partially hired on short notice by government-related organizations or by the Party of the Regions, in order to provoke riots during the peaceful demonstrations against the Janukovyč government or to directly attack smaller groups of government critics or individual persons.

destiny anymore. The youth of this country has risen against you. You have no future anymore."

In recent years in Ukraine, authors from the younger generation such as Karpa, Denysenko and Zhadan have tackled issues of identity, cultural remembrance and individual position in a globalized world. In addition to the already mentioned novel by Karpa *Bitches get everything*, their works include, for example, Denysenko with her novel *Echoes* about a young German woman, who follows the tracks of her grandfather during the Second World War in Ukraine or the novel by Žadan *Vorošilovhrad* (translated recently into German). The students' and young protesters' rigid rejection of the political exploitation of the Euro-Maidan demonstrations, which were joined by large parts of the population of central and western Ukraine, and the organization of the Maidan as a field for social action by groups independent of the state is an expression of a civil society mindset aimed at a reconfiguration of Ukrainian politics. This mindset was also defined in the "Agenda 5/12 of the authors as a mission for policy-makers. It appears as if the authors and intellectuals had abandoned the traditional role of writers in Ukraine as a voice and prophet of the people as attributed to Taras Shevchenko in the 19th and 20th century. The authors are hardly interested in a national, political ideology with a social mission anymore. With their text and media appearances they are more focused on civil society themes and take a stand against the post-Soviet politics aimed at retaining power, which today's – or actually yesterday's – political elite represents. Zhadan described the youth at the Euro-Maidan as the "non-lost generation", which is pitted against cannibals – "cannibals" who could simply eat up their opponents within the boundaries of dialogue.

Yet what these opponents will do with the cannibals is not entirely certain". And that is a reason for hope ...

translated by Michael Dobbins

About the Author:

Alexander Kratochvil is currently J.E. Purkyně Fellow at the Czech Academy of Sciences in Prague and is carrying out a research project on trauma and culture of remembrance in the (Eastern) Central European literatures. His most recent book "Aufbruch und Rückkehr. Ukrainische und tschechische Prosa im Zeichen der Postmoderne" was published in 2013 in Berlin (Kadmos). Between 2005 and 2009 he organized and directed the Ukrainicum in Greifswald. In addition, Alexander Kratochvil conducted research in the Cluster of Excellence "Cultural Foundations of Integration" at the University of Konstanz. He also teaches courses on Ukrainian literature at the Humboldt-University of Berlin and works as coordinator of the research project Region, Nation, and Beyond. An Interdisciplinary and Transcultural Reconceptualization of Ukraine, Univ. St. Gallen. He translates Ukrainian and Czech literature into German. Among others, his translation of Oksana Zabuzhko's novel "The Museum of Abandoned Secrets" was published in 2010 by the Droschl publishers. e-mail: texty@hotmail.de

Crimean Passions Around EuroMaidan: An Active Pro-European Minority of Crimeans Against the Autonomous Republic's Pro-Eurasian Authorities and an Ambivalent Majority

by Andrij Ivanec'

21 January 2014

It is obvious: Euromaidan has already become a phenomenon of Ukraine's social and political life, even regardless of the fact that formally it has achieved none of its publicly proclaimed goals - such as signing an association agreement with the EU, bringing to justice those responsible for the violent dispersal of student protesters on November 30th, and a radical re-formatting of Ukrainian government on both institutional and individual levels. Moreover, Euromaidan has notably changed the socio-political climate in the country and is instrumental in creating a positive image of the Ukrainian people abroad. One thing that makes Euromaidan different from its predecessors - "the granite revolution", "Rise up, Ukraine!" campaign, the Tax Maidan and even the Orange revolution - is its sheer scale. A Euromaidan rally in December 2013 (the so-called Veche) saw a record number of protesters in Ukrainian history. According to Sweden's Foreign Minister Carl Bildt, it was also the largest pro-European demonstration in Europe. One may add that this protest is also likely to last longer than the Orange Maidan.

The main difference, however, lies in Euromaidan's new quality as compared to previous Ukrainian protest campaigns. In 2004 Orange revolution supporters pledged their hope for a better life in the country with Viktor Yushchenko, a candidate in the presidential election, making his name the most popular slogan in Maidan: "Yushchenko!". But when the elected president failed in his actions and excelled in his inability to act, a wave of revolutionary enthusiasm was replaced by a sense of profound disillusionment and political apathy on the part of orange revolution activists

and supporters. Some politicians and analysts even believed that this experience made the Ukrainian society immune to future mass-scale protest actions. Such analyses, however, proved completely wrong. Deepening economic problems and, specifically, the risk of a default, together with a curb on civil rights and restrictions of the freedom of expression, led to an escalation in the protest potential. The government's decision on 21 November 2013 to suspend the preparations for an association agreement with the EU detonated a bomb of public unrest manifesting many Ukrainians' dissatisfaction with the state of the country and their support for Euro-integration. A new powerful impulse to the momentum of the protests was given by the violent crackdown of the anti-riot police "Berkut" on Euromaidan student protesters. For most Ukrainians it served as a turning point in their struggle for Euro-integration, which became a fight for their constitutionally guaranteed rights of personal security and peaceful assemblies.

Crucially, before the November events Ukrainian society had actually reached a consensus on the importance of Euro-integration. A characteristic detail is how even the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Moscow Patriarchate voiced its support for Euro-integration together with other churches. The government's suspension of the signing of the Association agreement with the EU was perceived by many Ukrainians as a threat of a reversal in its foreign policy direction. Furthermore, the events at the Vilnius summit produced in the society a psychological feeling of the loss of the European perspective, which could transform Ukraine into a normal European country and ensure for everyone a decent and

dignified life. For a large part of Ukrainians, the perspective of an EU integration embodied their hope in overcoming the most acute Ukrainian problems, such as corruption, poverty, dysfunctional state structures, and establishing new standards in social, economic and political life.

As a result, there emerged a qualitatively new form of public protest - Euromaidan. Its principal difference from the Orange maidan is that opposition politicians today are not regarded as unconditional leaders and organisers of the masses. Civil society tends to act on par with the political opposition and - with limited success - to form the opposition on its own. According to public opinion polls, the absolute majority of Euromaidan supporters joined the protests in Kiev not in response to the opposition's calls. What was an unconditional loyalty to the opposition's presidential candidate in 2004 transformed ten years later, on Euromaidan 2014, into the civil society's ambition to turn politicians into instruments of positive changes in the country. Characteristically, the first rally to take place was the students' Euromaidan, followed by the Euromaidan of the political opposition in Kiev's European Square. Later these two movements merged on Independence Square. The merger, however, is not absolute. In spite of the opposition-initiated creation at the end of December of the All-Ukrainian Union "Maidan", consisting of politicians and civil society representatives, Kiev's Euromaidan includes more than twenty various civil groups and unions outside the opposition's control. In fact, it is possible to speak of the ongoing effort of Euromaidan participants to establish between different civil society structures a symbiotic network model of relations and self-organisation, against the attempts of the political opposition to build and lead a verti-

cally constructed movement. Ukrainian 2014 "Euro-revolution" has demonstrated its civil society's coming of age and maturity; many segments of civil society and their ideas appear more productive for the country than the actions and ideas of the pro-government or even the opposition politicians. It is obvious, however, that Euromaidan's heterogeneous civil society sector is too short of time to propose its own independent political project in the nearest future. Its activists mostly realise this and accept the need to work with existing politicians to achieve socially important goals. This is clearly a difficult task, requiring mutual commitment from the civil society sector and the political establishment alike.

But - as it has been already stated - Kiev's Euromaidan is a phenomenon of national importance. And not only because among its activists there are representatives from all the country's regions, including the Crimea and Sevastopol. (Significantly, Independence Square in November-December featured the flags of the Crimean Autonomous Republic and the Crimean Tatars, while the hungry protesters for many days on end could treat themselves to Crimean plov and other dishes of the Crimean Tatar cooks). Euromaidan also has its counterparts, its supporters and opponents in Ukrainian regions.

EUROMAIDAN IN THE CRIMEA: AN ACTIVE MINORITY

Euromaidans beyond Kiev sprang up in November-December 2013 in practically all regional centres and in many smaller towns. They are, however, of different formats. A permanent Euromaidan in city centre, with a stage, exists only in Lviv; in some cities there are tent camps, while in others only regular activists' meetings take place. The appearance

of a Euromaidan in the Crimea is an expected surprise. The Crimean peninsula consists of two territorial administrative units - the Crimean Autonomous Republic and Sevastopol. Both regions are traditional Party of Regions (PR) and Viktor Yanukovich's electoral constituencies. Only Donetsk and Lugansk regions show a higher than in the Crimea level of electoral support for the pro-presidential forces. Thus, for instance, in a 2012 parliamentary election, in spite of a low turn-out, the Party of Regions received 52,3% and 46,9% of votes in the Autonomous Republic and Sevastopol respectively; in the second round of the presidential election Yanukovich got 78% of the Republic's votes. Party of Regions members enjoy a full control of the executive and legislative branches of power in the Republic; the Party of Regions' outfit in the Autonomous Republic "The Regions of Crimea" holds 82 out of 100 seats in the local parliament. The Party of Regions also controls the absolute majority of local administrations in the region, as well as governmental and local administrative bodies in Sevastopol.

It did seem that under such circumstances there was no space for the pro-EU sentiment in the Crimea. The region, however, is by many tokens the most peculiar part of Ukraine; and the Crimean community is a multifaceted society. The Autonomous Republic and Sevastopol are the only regions in the country where ethnic Ukrainians are not the biggest ethnic group, the majority of population comprised by representatives of ethnic minorities. Crimea is also an area, compactly inhabited by the Crimean Tatar people. According to the 2001 Ukrainian census, the population of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea consisted of the following ethnic groups: 58,8 % - Russians, 24,6 % Ukrainians, and over slightly 12 % - Crimean Tatars. In Sevastopol, the relative

number of ethnic Russians is higher than the general Crimean indicators.

Crimea's ethnic composition explains its widespread pro-Russian sentiment, which in some residents of the Autonomous Republic and Sevastopol has taken the form of Europhobia. However, there is also a significant number of Crimeans who hold opposing views or support Ukraine's integration into Europe and the Eurasian Union at the same time. Thus, already in late November 2013 Crimea saw public pro-EU protests in such towns as Yevpatoria, Feodosia, Dzhankoy, and Yalta. Later similar relatively sporadic actions took place in Kerch. Most systematic actions happened in Sevastopol and the capital of the Autonomous Republic Simferopol.

From late November to early January the residents of Simferopol witnessed almost daily events organised by Euro-activists. On weekdays those were activities of a few dozens of activists on the square outside the Republic's government building. And on weekends a column of a few hundreds of people moved from the square to the Crimea's parliament or the Representation of the President of Ukraine in the Republic of Crimea. A number of auto-caravans in support of Euromaidan drove along Crimean roads. Money, food, medicines and clothes were collected for the protesters in Kiev. First protests in the Crimea took place under the slogans in support of the president's commitment to Euro-integration and with the demand to sign the Association agreement in Vilnius. But after the events on November 29th and 30th, the views of Crimean Euro-activists became more radical - they rallied with the demands to name and bring to justice those responsible for the brutal crackdown on Maidan students, and called on the government and - later - the president to resign.

As for Crimean printed and electronic

mass media, most of which are owned by the Party of Regions members or the state, in their representation of the events in Kiev they largely belied the standards of objective journalism. Many of them contributed to the anti-Maidan propaganda campaign. Some of the newspapers regularly presented the average Crimean reader with stories on the "Nazi coup" in Kiev, "Maidowns" (a nasty blend of the words "Maidan" and "Down"), and depicting Euromaidan activists as hired stooges or loafers. This media propaganda campaign made Euromaidan supporters in Simferopol resort to such means of self-organisation as personal connections and Facebook networks. At the end of November they elected coordinators of the "Euromaidan-Crimea" movement, including Serhii Kovalskiy, an activist of the Crimean section of Batkivshchyna, Serhiy Mokrenyuk, head of the Crimean section of the non-parliamentary opposition party "Democratic Alliance", an Udar activist Ismail Ismailov and leader of the "Crimean centre for business and cultural co-operation "Ukrainian House" Andriy Shchekun. Although three of the four coordinators are party activists, they were not delegated to the movement "Euromaidan-Crimea" by their respective parties. Moreover, in the words of Shchekun, the leaders of Crimean sections of parliamentary parties were primarily concerned with sending Crimean volunteers to Kiev, rather than organising protest actions in the Republic. Shchekun, however, managed to convince young party and civil activists of the need to break through the information blockade and "show Ukraine and the world that there are people in the Crimea who want to live in a European society". He is certain that they succeeded in achieving this goal.

According to Shchekun, Crimean Euro-activists experienced a lot of administrative

pressure and open provocations. Thus, for example, the authorities in Simferopol would deliberately stage mass counter-rallies at the same time and places with the Euromaidan events. They gathered employees of state enterprises to take part in the rallies and deployed powerful sound equipment to silence the opponents. On December 12th 2013, car tires of the leader of "Udar" youth organisation in Sevastopol were slashed and the words "For Maidan" sprayed on the car. A similar incident took place in Simferopol on December 21st 2013: a "Euromaidan-Crimea" coordinator Kovalskiy had his Mercedes damaged by unknown people, prompting a criminal investigation by the police. On December 3rd 2013, attackers set on fire the only Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Kiev Patriarchate in Yevpatoria, whose deacon father Yaroslav Hontar had earlier left with a group of parishioners for Euromaidan in Kiev. Crimean activists continue to report of other provocations and threats to them and their families.

In view of such situation, it may be argued that regardless of its composition of civil society and political parties activists, the movement "Euromaidan-Crimea" is typologically similar to Euromaidan's civil sector in Kiev. On December 4th the Headquarters of national resistance in Crimea was formed, comprising representatives of eight political parties, 14 civil organisations and 11 activists of the "Euromaidan-Crimea" movement. Shchekun and Kovalskiy became coordinators of the Headquarters' Council. In late December 2013 a former head of the Republican Forestry Committee Anatoliy Kovalskiy chaired the newly formed organisational committee of the All-Ukrainian Council "Maidan" in Simferopol. Anatoliy Kovalskiy became famous in 2004 when he refused to sign a permission to grant large plots of land from Crimea's na-

tional reserves fund to businesses, controlled by M. Kurochkin, a Russian businessman and facilitator between the Ukrainian and Russian governments during the 2004 presidential election.

Presently, there are no readily available sociological data on general population support levels for Euro-integration in the Crimea. However, a poll conducted in December by the Crimean organisation of young political scientists in Simferopol revealed that out of the 400 respondents aged 18-35 60,5% supported the government's decision to suspend the Euro-integration process, 24% were against it, while 15% remained undecided. In case of a referendum, 36% of young people (Ukrainian law defines people under 35 years old as "young") would vote for joining the Customs Union, and 33% - the EU. In other words, the number of young Simferopol residents who support the European or Eurasian vector of integration is relatively the same (the difference lies within the margin of statistical error). It is quite an optimistic result for the pro-EU supporters, considering such factors as ethnic composition in the Republic and the hostile media environment. It is worth noting, however, that the level of pro-EU support is likely to drop among the Crimean residents of older generations.

Generally speaking, a sociological portrait of Crimean EU supporters resembles that of the whole Ukraine: although present in all social and age groups, they are predominantly young, running their own business and Ukrainian-speaking. At least, those are the categories of citizens that take the most active part in the "Euromaidan-Crimea" events, together with political leaders and - to a lesser degree - teachers, journalists, state employees and pensioners. On the other hand, a significant presence of Crimean Tatars among the supporters of local Euromaid-

ans can be seen as their distinctive feature.

CRIMEAN TATARS CHOOSE EUROPE

The population of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea includes 270 thousand Crimean Tatars, or roughly 13% of general population. Despite the apparently low population numbers of Crimean Tatars, their national movement has played an important role in the Crimean and Ukrainian politics. This has become possible thanks to the national experience of self-organisation acquired during the long years of deportation and resistance against the communist regime, as well as the formation of national government institutions, such as the general congress Kurultay or a system of executive bodies - Mejlis of the Crimean Tatar people and local Mejlis bodies. One of the strong points of the national movement is its extensive network of international links with Muslim and Turkic structures and western donor organisations that provide support to repatriated Crimean Tatars.

In the past few years there has been a notable decline in support for local government and the Mejlis among the Crimean Tatars. This is evident from the increased public activities of the Mejlis political opponents and a growing approval among some segments of the Crimean Muslims of the idea of the creation of a worldwide caliphate as opposed to the idea of upholding the Crimean Tatar national interests. In practice, however, the present Kurultay-Mejlis system remains the most popular and influential in the Crimean Tatar community. The level of public influence exerted by all Crimean Tatar opponents of the current system taken together is nowhere near the capacity and leverage possibilities of the national government bodies. Moreover, last year a two-tier election system to the Kurul-

tay was changed for direct elections, which increased the number of young delegates and made a positive consolidating impact on the Crimean Tatar national movement.

The Mejlis was among the first to announce its support for Euromaidan in Kiev and a European civilisational choice for Ukraine. In December the most influential Crimean Tatar politician Mustafa Dzhemilev, a Soviet-time dissident and a BYuT MP, who for twenty-two years was head of the Mejlis, spoke in front of the pro-EU demonstrators in Kiev. The recently elected new head of the Mejlis, Refat Chubarov, joined the All-Ukrainian Union "Maidan" Council. Head of the International Section at the Mejlis Ali Khamzin remarks that even those political and religious structures of the Crimean Tatars that oppose the national government refrain from running a public campaign against the Euromaidan. They include the non-governmental organisation "Milliy Firqa", the Council of Representatives of the Crimean Tatar People under the President of Ukraine and the presently illegal in Ukraine radical Muslim organisation Hizb ut-Tahrir.

The Mejlis' choice in favour of Euro-integration - which probably reflects the general public mood among the Crimean Tatars - can be explained by the ambition to pursue the nation's strategic and tactical interests. The EU, from a Crimean Tatar perspective, not only guarantees the general democratic development of Ukraine, but also ensures a fairly high level of protection for national minorities and indigenous peoples. Since the election of Yanukovych as president in 2010 this has become an important item on the agenda of the Crimean Tatar leaders, since both central and regional government bodies have been gradually limiting the scope of co-operation and dialogue with the national Crimean Tatar

institutions. The Composition of the Council of Representatives of the Crimean Tatar People under the President of Ukraine, created under Leonid Kuchma as a step to legalise the Mejlis, has been changed to include other Crimean Tatar figures. In the past few years, this was not an actively-functioning body. Local administrations in the Crimean regions, presided by Donbass-born Party of Regions members, have been gradually trying to oust Mejlis representatives from power and replace them with more pro-government oriented Crimean Tatars. The "Kurultay-Rukh" fraction has lost its right to appoint head of the Republican Committee for Interethnic Relations and Deported Citizens at the Crimean Council of Ministers. The Mejlis leaders complain about the disruption of the government's Resettlement and Reintegration programme which last year received the record low 10 million hryvnia from the national budget, in spite of the officially allocated 200 million. Ali Khamzin notes that the state has been unable so far to establish a systematic legal basis to ensure the rights protection and rehabilitation of the Crimean Tatar people.

There is, however, a certain number of Crimean Tatars who politically support the Party of Regions and took part in Kiev's Antimaidan. They are mostly members of "Sebat", a non-governmental organisation that unites participants in the land-grabbing movement. "Sebat"'s representatives state that around 800 of its members joined the Antimaidan in Kiev. A Mejlis leader Khamzin believes that the number was no more than 20-30.

THE EURASIAN CHOICE OF THE AUTONOMOUS REPUBLIC'S LEADERSHIP AND THE RUSSIAN FACTOR

Since the beginning of the Euromaidan

protest movement, the Crimean authorities have taken a radically negative position. It did not come as a surprise when on November 27th 2013 the majority of MPs in the Crimean parliament voted in favour of the Ukrainian government's decision to suspend the signing of an association agreement with the EU in the name of the national security interests, and condemned the "destructive actions" of "Svoboda", "Batkivshchyna" and "Udar" parties. In an appeal to the president, approved by the extraordinary parliamentary session on December 2nd 2013, Crimean MPs not only harshly criticised their political opponents but also called on the central government to take radical measures. The style of the document is evident from a characteristic quote (originally in Russian): "the government is obliged to prevent an unconstitutional revanche on the part of the bankrupt political forces that profess radical nationalism and have already crossed the line separating it from Nazism". It is of interest to note that the document goes as far as actually labelling the government's opponents as "nazis". More crucially, however, the Crimean parliament calls on the president to "stop the spread of lawlessness and anarchy on the capital's street", to urgently put an end to the activities of the destructive forces including by introduction - if necessary - of the emergency state. The same parliamentary session heard the parliament's vice-speaker Hryhoriy Ioffe declare cynically: "for the events on Maidan in Kiev, for everything that took place there on November 29th and 30th and is going on now, those who organise such "maidans" should be held responsible". As such, he actually justified the excessive use of force against peaceful protesters by anti-riot police.

Another landmark decision of the Crimean parliament came on December 3rd 2013,

when it approved a proposal to the president and government of Ukraine to "consider in the short term the possibility of Ukraine's joining the Customs Union". In other words, Crimean Party of Regions members proposed to their senior party cronies in governmental chairs to officially change the country's foreign policy. For Ukraine's commitment to Euro-integration has been enshrined in laws and its leaders continue to declare that the EU-association process has been only suspended.

It is clear that a difficult economic situation in the country and the political crisis have caused the Autonomous Republic's establishment to fear for its future, advocating the use of force and unleashing a media war against Euromaidan supporters. Furthermore, central authorities could use their Crimean allies' position as an instrument in the general political balance of power in the country. At the same time, the Crimean leadership's decisions and proposals, as well as those in some other regions of South Eastern Ukraine, can be also seen as a symmetrical response to measures in support of the Euromaidan movement, declared and adopted by local government bodies in Western Ukraine.

Until mid-December the pro-government authorities in the Crimea sought to mobilise the population in support of the central government by unleashing a full-fledged media war. Some of the propaganda content was borderline - to say the least - in the context of Crimea's multiethnic community and with regard to Ukraine's national interests. The most controversial came from the Presidium of the Crimean parliament who on December 12th 2013 published an appeal to the people of Crimea. The document described the threat to the Republic's autonomous status from the "organisers of mass street protests in Kiev" and warned that the Crimeans would be "de-

prived of their right to speak, write or be educated in Russian, the native language for the majority of Crimean residents". The appeal also declared that the "Autonomous Republic is in danger!"; "the fate of the whole Ukraine and the Crimean Autonomous Republic is being decided today" and that the "Crimea is facing a choice: to put up with the forced Maidanisation, or to stand up decisively against the anti-government and anti-Crimean forces".

It is hardly necessary to argue here that Kiev's Euromaidan did not voice a single demand to cancel Crimea's autonomous status or to ban the use of the Russian language in the peninsula. Those are not programmatic items for the majority of Euromaidan groups (with the only exception of Svoboda's position on the autonomous status which was not in any case raised during the Euromaidan events). Moreover, if anything the EU integration ensures additional guarantees for the protection of linguistic and cultural rights of national minorities. What was the motive then behind the Crimean parliament leadership's deliberate demonisation of Euromaidan?

Some commentators have suggested that this was more than a simple manifestation of low political culture or a method used to consolidate the pro-government forces in the Crimea in a complex economic and political situation. A more sinister implication was perceived in similar public messages: "Nobody in Kiev should wrongly assume that the Crimea will tolerate the enforcement of some else's will"; as well as in the initiative of the PR deputy in Sevastopol Serhiy Smol'ianinov to collect signatures under an appeal to the Russian president to deploy Russian troops in Ukraine to "counterbalance the army of the United States of America and their NATO aggressors". There has been a steady increase in the number of articles in local printed media on

the breakup of Ukraine, the collapse of Ukrainian statehood, and the need for a federal arrangement, accompanied - sometimes - by not so subtle separatist slogans.

Opposition politicians began to voice their concern over the threat of the Crimean separatism and the Russian factor. An ex-member of the Ukrainian parliament and the Mejlis head Chubarov remarked last December that for him the threat of the Crimea's secession had never been more tangible. On December 14th 2013, a Svoboda MP and a member of the parliamentary committee on the national security and defence Yuriy Syrotyuk reported on the plans for a Russian-backed special operation to declare the Crimea's state sovereignty from Ukraine. According to Syrotyuk, a meeting between PR members of the Crimean parliament, leader of the party "Russian bloc" and representatives of the party "Russian unity" had taken place in the Russian consulate in Simferopol. Allegedly, the secessionist scenario was supposed to be launched publicly with a demand from the Crimean Antimaidan supporters for a referendum on the Crimea's state sovereignty. "This scenario is a contingency plan in that case if Yanukovych loses control in Kiev and the majority in Verkhovna Rada" - said the MP.

Politicians from the above-named pro-Russian parties do not confirm the existence of separatist plans. More in general, it is very difficult to make a proper assessment of Russia's Crimean intentions and Ukrainian action plans, which largely remain hidden from the public eye. It is obvious, however, that Russia closely watches the situation in the Crimea, hoping to use it as a leverage of influence in Ukraine as a whole. The separatist card can be only played in the exceptional circumstances. Even more so after the signing by the Russian and Ukrainian presidents on December

17th 2013 of a deal concerned with a money credit and gas-price reduction, which greatly reduced the risk of any possible separatist scenario in the Crimea by the external forces. Besides, the agreement has resulted in a relative stabilisation of the presidential power and the economic situation in the country which is likely to ease the Crimean political establishment's fears of what they see as the realisation of the worst-case scenario.

And yet, the ongoing political crisis urges the pro-government forces in the Crimea to keep the political situation under control and consolidate the population's support. One of the methods they continue to use is the deliberate escalation of artificial threats. Thus, during a press conference in Simferopol after their return from the pro-government Antimaidan rallies in Kiev, the activists of the Crimean Tatar organisation "Sebat" declared that somewhere in the first half of 2014 the USA intended to use the Mejlis of the Crimean Tatar people as a platform for provocations in the Republic. Since the anti-Tatar sentiment remains a lingering factor among some segments of the post-Soviet Crimean society, even a hypothetical threat of provocations may push a certain part of Crimeans to show greater support for the authorities as the only stabilising force. Mejlis' head of the international section Khamzin characterises the "Sebat" claims as untruthful and immoral. In his opinion, it is a long-shot attempt to create in the Crimean society a negative image of the future activities in support of the Crimean Tatars' rights, envisaged by the national government bodies as part of the commemorations for the 70th anniversary of Stalin's criminal deportation of the Crimean Tatar people from the Crimea.

WHAT NEXT? A NO-REPLY QUESTION

It is too early to make any conclusions about Euromaidan's results. It is obvious, on the one hand, that Ukraine's authorities managed to steer through a dangerous geo-political curve and even to achieve a relative social and economic stabilisation in the country. On the other, the Euromaidan movement in Kiev and other regions has received a worldwide moral support and continues to exist, albeit without the real resources for a radical change of the political situation. The best-case scenario for the development of the situation in the country would require reaching a set of compromises between the government, the opposition and the society aimed at reforming the country and implementing the Euro-integration policy. This looks like a daunting task, but is not impossible. As for the Crimean Euromaidan supporters, their fate and the situation in the Crimea in general will depend on future developments in the country and on geo-political games around Ukraine....

translated by Vladyslava Reznik

The Blood For Yanukovych

by Oksana Syroyid

21 February 2014

If I were staying in Kyiv now, I would not write this – I would be busy on Maidan. However, I am physically too distanced from the events. And this very fact has made me even more emotionally involved. The feeling of despair has forced me to track the online streams and to check the headlines. I have had enough time to review all major world media including Russian media. There are no surprises from the Russians – they call me and my friends the “aggressive crowd”, our Ukrainian and European identity “radical”, and our efforts to protect our dignity and rights a “riot”.

However, it was sad to observe rather such superficial analysis even from the prominent global media. For example, on one of the TV channel the analyst asked the reporter, who streamed from Kyiv barricades, what is the difference in percentage of population supporting Maidan and Yanukovych. The reporter admitted that he did not know, but that the country is divided and that Eastern Ukraine is Russian. Such an approach to the analysis of the situation in Ukraine is not only distanced from the reality, but also reflects ideas carefully invented and implemented by Kremlin.

First of all, for those who like statistics: let us see whether the linguistic and nationality issues in Ukraine have any impact on the situation. Even though 60% of Ukrainians claim Ukrainian as their mother tongue, it is true that a majority of the population is bilingual – they can communicate in both Ukrainian and Russian. But you would not claim Swedes to be British just because 95% of the Swedish population is fluent in English. Neither me nor my parents could choose a second language for us as school students (and for some even

the first language). I had to study the Russian language, Russian literature and watch Soviet TV in Russian. Therefore, it is not my fault that I can speak Russian. Regarding nationalities: 17% of the inhabitants of Ukraine identify themselves as Russians. Crimea is the only territory where there more than 50% Russians, while seven of 24 regions have more than 10% of Russians, and there are 13.1% native Russians in Kyiv.

To judge whether the linguistic or nationality issues have anything to do with current protests I would suggest considering the following. The majority of the Kyiv population, especially young people, prefers Russian as their language of communication and most of the young residents of the Ukrainian capital are on the barricades today. The language spoken out on the Maidan stage does not matter. The nationality is never asked about and cannot be seen under the protestors' masks. Finally, the list of those killed is the essential proof that there is no correlation between national or linguistic identity and the current protests.

However, the data are logical if you consider them from the perspective of Russian history and the eternal Russian political interest in Ukraine. Russia needs Ukraine not only as a market, a military base, or as a gas pipe. It needs Ukraine (but only as a territory) to prove its legitimacy as a “great nation” deriving from the Kyevan Rus, an Eastern European Slavic state in 9th-13 century. Otherwise, it would have to begin writing its history only after the Moscow Kingdom founded in 14th century. This state was in fact was not independent, rather a vassal of the Golden Horde,

a Mongol state. It means that Russia would not only need to redesign the exposition in the History Museum on Red Square and to change all the textbooks for schools and universities. It would also have to stop calling itself the "Slavic nation" with the status of "older brother" and the legitimacy to patronize "younger sisters" like Ukraine, Belarus and whoever was "adopted".

This is why Peter the Great in his dreams of Europe, as well as his successors, were so desperate to invade Ukraine and ravish its Orthodox Church Metropolis. This is why Stalin killed millions of Ukrainians through famine in 1932-33 and ordered in 1939 to rewrite history and replace the term "Kievan Rus" with the term "Old Russian State". This is why Putin said to Bush at a NATO meeting in Bucharest in 2008: "You don't understand, George, that Ukraine is not even a state. What is Ukraine? Part of its territories is Eastern Europe, but the greater part is a gift from us." During his "reign" Putin put his efforts into proving both to the world and to the Ukrainians that Ukraine does not deserve a place on the map of Europe but only on the map of Russian metropolis.

As much as the Russian leader is desperate to devour Ukraine, the Ukrainian people are equally desperate to dissociate themselves from Russia. Perhaps the inherent feeling of dignity or historical memory of democracy fostered by the 20 years of freedom led, especially in the younger generation, to disgust and the rejection of the arrogance and superficiality traditionally exerted by Russians whether in the private or public treatment of anything Ukrainian.

It is now generally known that the Maidan protests started as a reaction to the decision of the Ukrainian Government to "suspend" the process of signing an association agree-

ment with the EU in favor of closer cooperation with Russia. The data as of January show that if the referendum on the association with the EU were held today, 47% of Ukrainians would say "yes". At the same time 34% would say "yes", if a referendum were held on joining the customs union with Russia. In addition the same research shows that Maidan has 48% supporters (27% who fully support it) and 46% opponents (31% who fully reject it). Looking at the data, one would be inclined to argue that the country is split. However, one could respond: have you ever heard of any public support in Ukraine for accession to a customs union? Me neither -because the protest is not about the union, whether European or a customs union. It is all about the values as well as the will and ability to protect them. Those who support Maidan support EU integration because the Maidan and EU values apparently coincide. People on Maidan share common values of human dignity, respect to human rights and accountable government. But even more they share trust, solidarity, and personal accountability. That is why they are standing outside for three months, suffer the -25 degree frost, severe injuries and are even dying just to protect these values.

Most probably, those who fully reject Maidan are the same who would say "yes" to the union with Russia. Then another question is how much do they know about the real Maidan as well as the real Russia? Is their awareness and belief in Russian values strong enough to consistently articulate and defend them, not to mention die for them? They can reject Maidan but they would never have enough arguments to oppose it. You can see no supporters of the custom union accession on the other side of the barricades. The other side of the barricade consists of brutal police supported by paid criminal gangs called "ti-

tushki" and since February 20th even released prisoners. It would not be declamatory to say that it is a fight between "good" and "evil". And yes the country is divided into those who are ready to support the "good" and those who in fact do not care. Therefore the people in this country are just normally socially stratified – some of them are politically active and motivated and others are not. The only problem is that the will of those who do care completely contradicts the strategic interests of the leader of the neighboring state.

Putin has very diligently approached his goal. He has been very diligent in arranging this for many years. He already has made several "grabs" at Ukraine, in particular in 2000 and in 2004. But former President Kuchma was too independent, careful and smart enough not to be embraced by the "older brother". Yanukovych appeared to be the ideal instrument for manipulation: greedy, almost entirely uneducated, with low self-esteem.

The Kremlin developed the concept of "Russian-speaking population" to justify its interference into the internal policies of its neighboring states. "Russian interests go as far as Russian speech is heard" – this is one of the key formulas of Russian international policy. This formula was developed specifically for invasion purposes and is strategically implemented as follows. The Kremlin claims that part of the territory of a given state is Russian-speaking. – The "Russian-speaking population" has specific "rights" that cannot be properly protected in the unitary state, which is why the state should introduce federalist structures (this part can be skipped). – The "Russian-speaking population" is suddenly threatened by "other-language-speaking population". – Obligated to protect any "Russian-speaker", the Kremlin uses tanks and missiles to enter the territory of another

state to fulfil its "mission of protection".

This strategy has been already employed in Moldova in the 1990s as well as in 2008 to invade part of the territory of Georgia. For decades the same formula has been effectively exploited in Ukraine, in particular, with regard to Crimea and Eastern regions of Ukraine. The actions that complement this strategy are permanent claims of the Kremlin and its emissary in Ukrainian (and not only) politics: that "Russian-speaking population" in Ukraine has some specific rights and that is why the country is divided into Russian-speaking East and Ukrainian-speaking West; that Western Ukrainians are nationalists and radicals; that EU integration and therefore all protest activity are supported only by Western Ukrainians (nationalists and radicals). The Russian lobby in the Ukrainian Parliament has already suggested changing Ukraine into a federal state. And the leadership of Crimea has already claimed that they do not feel safe as a part of Ukraine and want to join Russia. It had to be the elected President of Ukraine and not US Senator McCain to reply that "... all nations must support the territorial integrity of Ukraine, including Crimea". On the opposite, by repeating the mantra that those on Maidan are radicals and represent only small part of the country, Yanukovych is making a strong contribution to the Kremlin's efforts to open the gates for a Russian invasion of Ukraine.

Another concept developed specifically for Ukraine and Byelorussia is the concept of "single nation". According to Putin there is no Ukrainian nation, just "Little Russia". This concept is strongly supported by the Russian Orthodox Church and its "doctrine" of the "Russian world". The core strategy according to this concept is the following. Ukrainians are not a separate nation but a "branch" of the larger Russian nation. Since Ukrainians

and Russians are identical only Russia can understand what is going on in “poor Ukraine’s” head. – Europe has to allow Russia to take “care of Ukraine” and to protect Europe from possible “Ukrainian threats”. The implementation of this concept can be seen in the justifications that the President and the Government of Ukraine provided upon the abrupt decision to suspend the association with the EU. They said that we had to cooperate closely with Russia since we were two “brother nations”, used “to grow up together”, shared the same

Government made it possible. The brutal violence of police is absolutely illogical for Yanukovich as he will never benefit from it. But it is very beneficial to Putin. The “bloody” Yanukovich made him “unacceptable” for the West, meaning that he either has to resign or to be abandoned by the civilized world. Putin is well aware how difficult it will be for Yanukovich to resign and the isolation is the best reason for Kremlin “to take care of Ukraine”. The recent statement of Angela Merkel that she agreed with Putin on the joint measures

against Ukraine proves that Putin’s strategy is advancing. All the agreements between Germany and Russia, including those in 1918 and in 1939 only had negative consequences for Ukraine. But – no pity. It just shows that Europe, at least its key players, do not understand and therefore do not deserve Maidan.

Not understanding Maidan is a problem for Europe and serious mistake in Putin’s equation. Maidan is not one square that can be



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values and Russia could understand us better than the EU. The same concept was used by the President of Ukraine to call the extortionate Russian loan a “brotherly help”.

Putin has taken care of everything, even Maidan. Of course he would be happy to acquire Ukraine on voluntary basis. However, the protests started and he adapted them to his strategy. Kremlin’s emissary in the Presidential administration and in the Ukrainian

smashed and cleaned up. Maidan is not about supporting any party or opposition leaders – it will deal with which parties and leaders to support when the elections come. . Maidan is 27% of Ukrainians ready to fight for their dignity and 21% who are willing to support this fight. Yanukovich had to implement de facto a state of emergency, in order to block Kyiv, close the subway, put armed police at check points on every downtown cross-road

and on the main roads to the city just to prevent these 27% from arriving at their focal point of their struggle. However, it demonstrates that he knows nothing about the people he appeared to be the President of.

For those who never have been on Maidan I can report that the barricaded territory until recently had its own medical service with a fully equipped hospital and a number of medical checkpoints, accommodations and permanent meal services for thousands, a library, two street universities, an IT center, art centers, permanent hotlines, etc. It was self-sustaining and self-organized. How did it work? I know a doctor, who has been volunteering in the medical service from the very first days. I know a retired prosperous businessman, who has been going to Maidan every day supplying protestors with gas and firewood for heating. I know dozens of people, students, top managers, analysts, NGO representatives, businessmen, artists, and public servants who have been going there everyday and taking efforts to maintain the Maidan. They cut sandwiches and built barricades, monitored court trials and protected injured in the hospitals from the police, delivered grocery and taught in the street universities, coordinated call centers and purchased and installed medical equipment. And, most importantly, they kept Maidan safe and clean.

The violence that started on February 18 turned Maidan into one of the most dangerous and apocalyptic places in the world. However, the ensuing violence only increased the significance of Maidan for Ukrainians. Despite hundreds killed and thousands injured, people are not leaving Maidan – they are just arriving with the necessities – food, medicines, tires, equipment. And all of them are bringing their courage, mutual trust and belief in their values. When was the last time that Europe has

experienced something like this?

Finally, to explain the difference in the level of support for Maidan and for Yanukovich I suggest one illustration. After the terror of February 18th the medical service announced around 9 in the morning next day that the blood donors were needed. The transport system was blocked and there was only one donor station in the city. By the noon the emergency call center reported that the line of donors consisted of more than 100 people. In a few hours the medical service reported that they have collected enough blood and asked people to keep it for other situations of need. Unfortunately, the next situation of need was next day and the situation repeated. How many people do you think would stay in line to give their blood for Yanukovich?

P.S. On February 20th around one hundred people were shot dead by snipers. Doctors and volunteers were singing the Ukrainian anthem when the bodies of twelve protestors were taken from the improvised hospital in the hotel lobby... Even after resignation Yanukovich has to be prosecuted and deprived of his lifelong presidential status – he cannot die as a President and have the Ukrainian anthem sung in his honor.

P.P.S. From the moment I have started to write it until the moment I finished, just two days have passed. The situation is changing every hour. A solution has not yet been found. I always knew that Putin never gives up. But I also know that Maidan will always win.

About the Author:

Oksana Syroyid, Director of the NGO “Ukrainian Legal Foundation” deputy head of Kyiv-Mohyla School of Public Law and Ad-

ministration. Graduated from the University of Ottawa with Master of Laws degree (2003). Received degree in Law from Taras Shevchenko Kyiv National University (2002) and B.A. in Political Science from National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy (1997). Possesses extensive experience in development and implementation of reform projects for Ukraine, in particular in the area of administrative law, administrative justice, independence of the judiciary and legal education. Contributed as an expert to the development of numerous legislative acts in the area of judiciary, administrative justice, government decision making

process, peaceful assembly, legal status of state and minority languages in Ukraine and education. OSCE/ODIHR international trial monitor. Recurrent lecturer on administrative justice issues and opinion writing at the National School of Judges of Ukraine. Associate professor of the Law Department in the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy (lecturing on legal research, analysis and writing). Co-author of handbooks in the area of administrative justice and legal analysis and writing.

e-mail: oksana.syroyid@gmail.com



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EuroMaidan. Chronology of Events

A peaceful, civil society protest on the Maidan Square of Kiev has turned into a violent change of government, which has escalated into an international crisis in view of the Russian military actions on the Crimean Peninsula since late February.

The following chronology summarizes the most important events, in order to shed light on the process of confrontation radicalization and escalation. Six broader phases can be identified up to now (last update: 8 March 2014). The chronology makes no claim to be complete.

First phase – November 21st, 2013 - 29th, 2013: Failure to sign the association agreement with the EU before the EU-Vilnius summit Peaceful pro-European student protests

On November 21st, 2013, the Ukrainian government declares that it will not sign the EU-Association Agreement. Due to this political shift, the Euromaidan is created November 24th, 2013 as a peaceful protest against Yanukovich. In several cities the protests are linked with the national day of commemoration of the Holodomor. Euromaidan is from the very beginning a dynamic phenomenon, a living organism that constantly grows and develops ideas as its aims. After the refusal to sign the treaty with the EU at the EU Summit in Vilnius (November 28th-29th 2013) and the obvious Russian interest and interference in that process, the protests on Maidans (public squares) in Kyiv and other cities begin to grow.

Second Phase – November 29th, 2013 & December 2013: Police violence against peaceful protesters Mass mobilization in Kyiv and demands for political changes in Ukraine

During the night from November 29th to 30th the special force Berkut brutally attacks and seriously injures many of the peaceful protestors, while pretending to put up a Christmas tree on the Maidan, the center of the non-violent protests. As a result the Maidan is dismantled. That is the prelude to the second wave of Maidan protests: the protest against violence and the ignoring of law and order by the Yanukovich administration. On December 1st, 2013 a mass demonstration takes place in Kyiv, first on the square in front of St. Michael's monastery, as the Maidan was "closed". Later that day protesters again gain space on Maidan where the protest camp had been set up for many weeks. Besides the House of Unions and the City Hall, protesters occupy other buildings and use them as a cafeteria, meeting place and for organizational purposes. The political opposition – Udar, Svoboda and Batkivshina – now attempt to manage the protests with various degrees of acceptance. There are many slogans demanding new elections of the parliament and the president.

From then on, people gather for mass demonstrations every Sunday. On December 8th, 2013 the Lenin monument near Bezarabsky Rynok in the centre of Kyiv is smashed by protesters. This is the beginning of "Leninfalls" in many Ukrainian cities and towns.

During December, repressions by government forces and state institutions such as trials and street hooligans hired by the Party of Regions increased. Violence increased against certain groups of persons such as journalists and Maidan activists, e.g. the beating of Tatjana Chornovol and Juri Lutsenko. In violation of existing laws, judges allow for people to be kept in custody without official charges. These are partly intentional provocations by the government to stir up the conflict and to end the

protests not with political negotiations, rather with fierce state violence. This is essentially the strategy of Yanukovych against Maidan in the following weeks.

Third Phase – January 2014:

Actions and Reactions: Misinterpretations of the Government

During January 2014, Euromaidan changes its character once again: the peaceful protests grow more and more into an uprising, while the protesters became more radical. To a great deal this radicalization is a result of the steady provocation by the Yanukovych administration. The persecution of protesters, esp. of the participants of the so called auto-maidan, expanded. There are cases of severe torture and several casualties (Viktor Bolotov, Ihor Lutsenko). Doctors and medical personal receive advice to report to the police the personal data of injured protesters, and cases of arrests of protesters in medical facilities are reported. In violation of the law, water cannons during minus 20° C temperatures are used against protesters and the security forces apply further forbidden measures.

On January 16th, 2014 a series of laws are passed by parliament, which violate fundamental human rights and freedoms and thus pave the way towards a dictatorship (such as in Belarus). It causes a resolute reaction by the Maidan protesters, and the Yanukovych administration responded with another wave of state terror.

Yanukovych attempts to stop the restless protests with new laws. He wishes to restore law and order, instead of finding a compromise.

In the following days violence escalates, esp. in Hrushevskij Street and first deaths occur as a result of sniper fire. Clashes with special police forces and protesters steadily

increase, and there are intentional attacks on journalists, medical personal, while existing laws are continuously broken during trials and by judges. The protesters occupy local and state government buildings and institutions, continue to block roads and to prevent police forces from leaving their barracks. Protesters in other cities, esp. in western Ukraine occupy or block the regional government representation and the offices of the Party of Regions (Yanukovych's party).

The administration does not stop the confrontations in the streets, rather start talks and negotiations to cancel the laws of January 16th and to declare amnesty for arrested protesters. These concessions of the government are linked to preconditions such as the end of all protests and clearing all government and local government buildings. There seem to be different fractions and attitudes towards further proceedings in the government. At the same time the Ukrainian government is very close to bankruptcy and needs financial help.

Both the EU and Russia declare their non-interference into internal Ukrainian issues, but the Russian foreign minister Sergey Lavrov complains that the US and the EU are already interfering.

Fourth Phase February 18th - 21st, 2014:

Escalation of violence, more than 80 people killed

Both protesters on Maidan and the opposition in parliament unsuccessfully demand the restitution of the 2004 constitution. In the meantime the situation escalates on the streets and snipers repeatedly shoot at protesters. The government tries to clear Maidan and the occupied buildings and discusses an upcoming declaration of a state of emergency. This way, the army could be used for domestic purposes.

es. Streets and railways to Western Ukraine are interrupted by police. The “Right Sector” calls to arms and for militant self-defense against the police and Berkut. Political negotiations prove to be useless, while combat between self-defense troops on Maidan and Berkut become fierce. Maidan is still in the hands of the protesters though. More than 80 people are killed, most of them by snipers. The people in Ukraine are in shock and the scene is reminiscent of war.

**Fifth Phase February 22nd, 2014:
Peace negotiations and change in government**

Three EU foreign ministers from Germany (Steinmeier), Poland (Sikorski) and France (Fabius) come to Kyiv for negotiations. Russia sends an emissary as well (Lukin). They talk to Yanukovich and the three opposition leaders. On February 22nd, 2014 they present to the public a peace agreement¹. Yanukovich accepts new presidential elections for 2014 and the restitution of the 2004 constitution. The Ukrainian parliament votes with a brought majority for the restitution of the 2004 constitution.

Dmitry Jarosh as speaker for the Right Sector and the Auto-Maidan do not accept the peace agreement and demand the resignation of Yanukovich in the next 24 hours.

Due to personal changes in the government and the new political directions in parliament Yanukovich leaves Kyiv during the night for eastern Ukraine. On February 22nd, Yulia Tymoshenko is freed from prison and travels directly to the Maidan in Kyiv to call on the masses to not

stop protesting until Yanukovich resigns.

From Rostov/Don Yanukovich declares on February 28th, in a video to the public that he views the political changes as a coup d'état and still regards himself as the legitimate president of Ukraine. Russia's president Putin backs him esp. in connection with the beginning occupation of Crimea at that time. With 317 of 331 votes, the parliament declares Victor Yanukovich to be removed from office and plans new elections for May 25th, 2014. It also appoints acting directors of the domestic secret service general public prosecution office, an interim president, head of government as well as ministers of internal and foreign affairs. Investigations into the 101 deaths which occurred during the conflicts on the Maidan are initiated. The deceased are now called the “Heavenly Hundred”.

As part of several legal modifications and personnel-related decisions, the disputed language law of 2012 is withdrawn, which provides for that the language spoken by at least 10 % of the population is recognized as an official language. This decision is again reversed several days later, because it is understood as a provocation against the Russian population.²

Anti-Maidan demonstrations take place on the Crimean Peninsula (Kerch, Sevastopol) and in Odessa.

The departure of Yanukovich after the negotiations with the EU troika and the opposition parties came by surprise to many Ukrainians and international observers. His escape from Ukraine marks the end of the Maidan demonstrations and at the same time sheds

1 http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/cae/servlet/contentblob/671350/publicationFile/190045/140221-UKR_Erklaerung.pdf

2 Moser, Michael: Language Policy and Discourse on Languages in Ukraine under President Viktor Yanukovich. Ibidem-Verlag, Stuttgart 2013; Kulyk, Volodymyr: Language Policy in Ukraine What People Want the State to Do. In: East European Politics and Societies 27 (2013) no. 2, 280-307

light on other hot spots, most notably the involvement in and occupation of Crimea by Russia as of late February. The events in Crimea and eastern and south eastern cities of Ukraine are closely linked with the Maidan movement and the development of a civil society in Ukraine. However, it is a different kind of struggle with the unmistakable involvement of international power interests. The focus now shifts from domestic Ukrainian affairs and events to constellations recalling cold-war scenarios.

Sixth Phase February 28th, 2014 - : The Crimean Crisis

On February 20th, 2014 the speaker of the parliament of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, Volodymyr Konstantinov (Party of Regions) does not rule out that the Crimean Peninsula will separate from Ukraine. On February 27th, a Russian flag is hoisted on the parliament building of Crimea. The regional parliament and several airports are occupied by men in uniforms without nationality markings. Russia increases its military presence on the Crimean Peninsula. On the same day, the parliament decides to hold a referendum on the national affiliation of Crimea on March 16th, 2014.

compiled by Alexander Kratochvil & Carmen Scheide

translated by Michael Dobbins

Приложение 1
к Постановлению Верховной Рады
Автономной Республики Крым
от 6 марта 2014 года № 1702-6/14

Б Ю Л Л Е Т Е Н Ь
для голосования на общекрымском референдуме 16 марта 2014 года

Б Ю Л Л Е Т Е Н Ь
для голосования на загальнокрымскому референдумі 16 березня 2014 року

2014 сенеси март 16-да умумкырым референдумында рей берильмеси ичюн
БЮЛЛЕТЕНЬ

Отметьте любым знаком в квадрате тот вариант ответа, за который Вы голосуете:
Позначте будь-яким знаком у квадраті той варіант відповіді, за який Ви голосуете:

Насыл бир вариант ичюн рей бергенинъизни ишаретнен белгилеиъиз:

1) Вы за воссоединение Крыма с Россией на правах субъекта Российской Федерации?
1) Ви за воз'єднання Криму з Росією на правах суб'єкта Російської Федерації?
1) Русие Федерациону субъекти акъларында Кырым Русиеге къошулмасына размысмыъыз?

2) Вы за восстановление действия Конституции Республики Крым 1992 года и за статус Крыма как части Украины?
2) Ви за відновлення дії Конституції Республіки Крим 1992 року і за статус Криму як частини України?
2) Сиз Кырым Джумхуриетининъ 1992 сенеси ичюн Анаясымы амелге кечирильмеси ве Кырым Украина кысымы оларакъ статусы ичюн?

Бюллетень, в котором оставлены неотмеченными или отмечены оба варианта ответа, считается недействительным.
Бюллетень, в якому залишено позначеними або позначено обидва варіанти відповіді, вважається недійсним.
Къайд этильметен я да эки вариант къайд этильгени заманда бюллетень керчек сайылмаъ.

Бюллетень изготавливается размером 210 x 150 мм на бумаге белого цвета.

According to the ballot paper voters in Crimea are given the choice to join Russia immediately or to return to the Constitution of 1992 within Ukraine. A third option is not possible.

Source: www.bbc.com

SOME INTERESTING LINKS:

General information and documents:

<http://www.ssees.ucl.ac.uk/library/directory/ukraine2014.htm>

Chronology of events (in German):

<http://www.laender-analysen.de/index.php?topic=ukraine&url=../ukraine/archiv.html>

The Ukraine List by Dominique Arel:

<http://www.ukrainianstudies.uottawa.ca/orange.html>

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 Prof. Dr. Ulrich Schmid
 Maria Tagangaeva M.A.

Contact

Center for Governance and Culture in Europe (GCE-HSG)
 University of St.Gallen
 Gatterstrasse 1
 CH-9010 St.Gallen
 Switzerland

Phone: +41 (0) 71 224 25 61

e-mail: euxeinos@unisg.ch

URL: www.euxeinos.ch, www.euxeinos.info

<http://www.gce.unisg.ch/euxeinos>

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